Daily Report

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Kosovo's Bakalli Endorses Albanian Democratization

AU2711125190 Tirana ATA in English 1020 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Tirana, November 27 (ATA)—The newspaper ZERI I RINISE of Pristina dated October 29, 1990 carries the writing by Mahmut Bakalli entitled "Kosovo—Europe's Obligation" which says that a Kosovo delegation, whose members were also Ali Alia, Hivzi Islami, and Dom Lush Gjergji, held in Rome on October 9, 10, and 11, 1990 separate meetings with Senators Melini of the Radical Party of Italy; Emma Bonino, secretary of the Presidency of Deputies and secretary of the Transnational Radical Party; Piccoli, chairman of the Foreign Commission of the Italian Parliament and chairman of Christian Democrat Internationale; Negri of the Italian Communist Party, member of the Foreign Commission of the Parliament, as well as with some reporters at the Italian Parliament.

In his article, Mahmut Bakalli writes that he informed the Italian senators on the grave situation in Kosovo, the difficult position of the Albanians in Kosovo and Yugoslavia, who for 9 years running have been under the brutal repression of the Serb power, which still exists in the most drastic forms, he writes further on.

Yugoslavia's Presidency and the Yugoslav Government do not accept and severely condemn the proclamation of the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo. The federal organs and the other republics still do not recognize Kosovo as a republic because of Serbia's pressure, blackmail on them.

Then the article carries the answers Mahmut Bakalli gave to Italian senators regarding his considerations concerning the political development in Albania. We, he writes, want and hope that the processes of democratization, economic prosperity, and Albania's broader ties with Europe will step up. We uphold that no foreign pressure and manipulation should be exerted on sovereign and independent Albania, but the processes initiated by the democratic forces in Albania and chairman Ramiz Alia should be supported. The creation of the Republic of Kosovo and the development of many-party democracy and Kosovo's new prosperity, undoubtedly will have a positive impact on Albania's democratization and its opening to Europe. And vice-versa: Every process of democratization of Albania, every step of its prosperity and opening to Europe and the world would contribute to the processes of democratization and prosperity of the Republic of Kosovo and generally of the Albanians of Yugoslavia.

Therefore, your support and that of Europe for the Republic of Kosovo and the democratization of Kosovo and of Yugoslavia is at the same time your commitment in the democratic processes in Albania and its link with Europe.

VOA Accused of 'Anti-Albanian Propaganda'

AU2611175690 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 18 Nov 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "From Letters to the Editorial Board: What Can One Expect From the Agent's Son"]

[Text] As a regular reader of ZERI I POPULLIT, I observe that considerable improvements have been made by the paper. There are good articles, exchanges of opinion, and criticism. The democratization of life is also reflected in the media through the free presentation of ideas.

Only in one respect, it appears to me, are you not acting well. Why do you not counter the anti-Albanian propaganda from abroad? I have listened to the Voice of America three or four times and I no longer do so. I am disgusted by a certain Elez Biberaj, who is slandering Albania and socialism as if they are the worst enemies. One day this person said that the Albanian Government should apologize to all those who have been in prison as opponents of the people's regime!

I was interested about the background of this Elez Biberaj and I learned that his father had been a fugitive as an enemy of the people's regime and had apparently been sent to our country several times as an agent [diversant] of the Yugoslav UDBA [State Security Administration]. What can one expect from the son of a UDBA agent, a spy, and a hired killer?

What has surprised me is the fact that some of our people grant interviews to this group of agents. Perhaps they do not know who he is; however, are they not aware of the kind of merchandise he is and whom he serves, from his comments? Or is it that they have blind faith in democracy?

This is all I wanted to tell you. I believe, however, that if you yourselves were to expose better the anti-Albanian propaganda, you would even open the eyes of those who are blind.

NOTE:
ZERI I POPULLIT does not usually publish anonymous letters. We have made an exception this time only, however, because of the particular interest of the anonymous letter published above.

Lawyers Answer Questions on Electoral Bill

AU2111140590 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 11 Nov 90 p 3

[Article "prepared by Musa Ulqini:" "Lawyers Reply—Thirteen Questions About the Bill on the Election of Deputies"]

[Text] *The bill on the election of deputies to the People's Assembly continues to meet with a wide response among specialists, intellectuals, journalists, and among all strata of our public opinion.*

Everyone considers it a very democratic bill, which will revolutionize the work of state organs. To better illuminate various problems and unclear points which have arisen during the discussions of this bill, we turned to various specialists, members of the working group who drew up the bill, and specifically to Comrades Frrok Gjoka, director of a directorate of the state organs; Kujtim Puto, director of the Directorate of Legality; and Leon Kosta, assistant lawyer to the Presidium of the People's Assembly within the apparatus of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, who gave us the explanations below.

Editor: Besides the Albanian Workers Party [AWP], the Democratic Front, the Youth Union, the National Veterans Association, and the Writers and Artists League, which other organizations or associations will also be able to take part in the elections as independent subjects?

Kujtim Puto: The electoral bill is guided by the idea that elections should express the will of specific electors or groups of them as well as possible; therefore, it has, among other things, allowed all associations recognized by law the right to nominate candidates for deputies. No restriction has been placed on associations proposing candidates, regardless of the organizations' size or importance. All organizations or associations which have been created or may be created have the right to nominate candidates. It is enough for them to be registered—in other words, to be recognized by law.

Editor: Some articles covering independent organizations and their duties sometimes mention political or social organizations and associations, and sometimes merely social organizations and associations. Under Article 26, for example, only social organizations and associations have the right to obtain the views of the masses concerning candidates who have been nominated. Thus, this does not apply to the party as a political organization. Was this a technical error in formulation, or is this matter a problem of substance?

Leon Kosta: We are dealing with a defect in the bill which was also discussed by the Permanent Judicial Commission of the People's Assembly, which suggested a standardization of the terminology in Articles 24, 26 etc., using the phrase "political or social organizations and associations" in all cases. The bill considers all organizations and associations without distinction as fully equal at all stages of the electoral campaign, during the proposal of candidates, their discussion at meetings of the people, and the registration of nominated candidates by constituency commissions.

Editor: Article 36 states that every organization, association, or individual has an equal right to disseminate propaganda for a registered candidate at meetings, in the press, on radio and television, and in other ways. How will this be achieved in practice?

Leon Kosta: The bill merely lays down a general rule, guaranteeing organizations, associations, or individuals the right to disseminate propaganda for registered candidates for the post of deputy. This is the law's preserve. As for how this propaganda will be carried out in practice, the organization of work, and the measures to be taken to develop it, etc., these things are up to those who have the right to propose candidates, in cooperation with our propaganda organs. Working people in propaganda will, of course, take the necessary measures at the beginning of the electoral campaign to program their work; this is to ensure that propaganda for candidates will take place normally, according to the demands of the law.

Editor: In comparison with the situation in the countryside, many more organizations and associations are active in the towns, and their members are virtually all town dwellers. Does this not impose an unequal relationship between the countryside, where fewer organizations and associations operate, and the towns, bearing in mind that about 65 percent of the population, i.e. the majority, live in the countryside?

Kujtim Puto: I think that equality between rural and urban electors is ensured by the equality of urban and rural constituencies. The countryside, with more inhabitants, will send more deputies to the People's Assembly than the towns. Plenty of organizations are active in the countryside, such as the AWP, the Democratic Front, the youth and women's organizations, and the trade unions (the latter in those cases where rural inhabitants are employed by the state). Moreover, it should not be forgotten that the people have the right at their own meetings to demand the withdrawal of a candidate or to propose a new one. Moreover, any citizen may present his own candidature with the approval of 300 electors. In this way, the people both in towns and the countryside will elect whom they want.

Editor: It used to happen that in some constituencies—for instance, those in the north—a citizen living in the capital who was not well known by the electors was proposed as a candidate for the post of deputy. Is it now more advisable for newly proposed candidates to be well known to the people of the constituency, or is the situation as it used to be?

Frrok Gjoka: The bill lays down no restrictions concerning the residence of candidates, because everything in the electoral mechanism is tied to the expression of the free will of the people, so they may elect whomever they wish as People's Assembly deputies. It is advisable for all political or social organizations and associations to nominate as candidates those who enjoy people's respect and sympathy. I must mention that throughout our electoral practice, our people have always been able to discern and elect such people. This will no doubt continue to happen in the future People's Assembly elections.

Editor: How many candidates may an organization or association propose in 250 constituencies? How many candidates may stand in one constituency?

Frrok Gjoka: The bill gives the right to all organizations or associations, as equal subjects, to propose and register candidates for the post of deputy in each and every constituency; therefore, there is no obstacle to their proposing candidates in all 250 constituencies. They decide in how many constituencies their candidates should stand; the law lays down no limit. The important thing, that shows the democratic character of the elections, is that no fewer than two candidates will stand in each constituency and will actually visit every constituency on election day.

Editor: Can organizations or associations propose as their candidates distinguished representatives of our science and cultural spheres who do not belong to these organizations? For example, can the youth organization nominate as its candidate a professor who is not a member of the Albanian Union of Working Youth?

Kujtim Puto: Political and social organizations and associations themselves will decide on the candidates they will nominate and register in the constituencies. They will choose the most distinguished representatives of production, science, and culture as candidates, primarily members of their organization or participants in their associations. I think it is not a necessary condition that the proposed candidate should inevitably be a member of the nominating organization or association. The bill does not make such a demand. The youth organizations can also nominate as a candidate a professor or scientist whom they like, regardless of whether he is young.

Editor: Article 2 states that citizens who have reached the age of 18 have the right to be elected as deputies. There has been a great deal of discussion of this article. As long as deputies are and remain very important figures in the state, can someone of this age cope with the very important tasks thrust on him, when he has little experience of life and only a secondary school education?

Leon Kosta: This problem was also discussed at the meetings of the People's Assembly commissions, and there were proposals that the age for election as a deputy should be raised from 18—as it is today—to 21, 23, or 25. As the Permanent Judicial Commission concluded, it was seen as reasonable for the age limit to remain at 18 in the bill, as it also is today in the Constitution. This was not only because it gives greater opportunities for young people to nominate through their own representatives through their organization as candidates for the post of deputy to the People's Assembly, but because it ensures a wider representation of age groups in the Assembly. It must not be forgotten that by law our citizens acquire full majority at 18.

Editor: It was said at the ninth party Central Committee plenum that a deputy's mandate can extend to two or three legislatures. The bill says nothing about this issue.

Leon Kosta: At first, there was the view, according to the guidelines given at the ninth party Central Committee plenum, that the bill should explicitly limit the period of a deputy's mandate to three successive legislative terms. Following organized consultations, however, the conclusion was reached that this criterion should not be included in the bill because it would represent a legal restriction of electoral rights—i.e., a restriction on the rights of all citizens to be elected to the People's Assembly. This criterion will, of course, be borne in mind as a guideline for organizations and associations in nominating candidates. Furthermore, the new electoral mechanism itself and the rules that require more than one candidate to stand, the imposition of parity on all subjects which have the right to submit candidates, etc., will help to continually renew the composition of the People's Assembly.

Editor: Article 35 states that organizations or associations which have nominated candidates and all independent candidates must present their programs in public verbally or in writing. What will this program specifically represent?

Kujtim Puto: The bill anticipates that it will be a necessary condition for all candidates to present their programs in public. I think these programs will display the ideas of organizations and associations and independent candidates on how to solve the country's important political, economic, and social problems, etc., and the actual work which each will do to carry out these programs following their election as deputy. They will express the individuality of each program, which must be the kind that will help the country's development and the further emancipation of society. They cannot clash with the principles of democracy and the freedom of the people. The bill, therefore, explicitly states which programs are forbidden. The commission that has registered a candidate who puts forward a program which includes fascist, racist, or terrorist ideas, or ideas inspired by or borrowed from the treacherous organizations created during the National Liberation War will remove him from the register.

Editor: If a majority of the candidates proposed by one of the organizations or associations wins the elections, or independents make up a majority of deputies, will this influence the composition of the new government and in what specific way?

Kujtim Puto: It will, of course, influence both the formation and the work of the new government. The chairman and all the members of the Council of Ministers are appointed by the People's Assembly, according to the will of the majority of deputies. If this majority does not agree with the composition of the new government, this government cannot be appointed. Furthermore, the Council of Ministers is not only obliged to abide by the Assembly's laws, but it, as a whole, and each of its ministers individually, is continually under the control of the People's Assembly, the permanent commissions, and deputies who raise problems and demand measures to be taken for the enforcement of laws. When the People's Assembly (i.e. a majority of it) observes that

the government is acting contrary to the content or spirit of the Constitution and the current legislation or is not adhering to its political program as accepted by the People's Assembly on the government's formation, the People's Assembly may then dismiss it. In this case, the government is dismissed if the majority of deputies vote against it.

Editor: What relationship will a candidate who is a party member, but who wins an election as a candidate of a social organization or as an independent, have with deputies who have been elected as candidates nominated by the party?

Frrok Gjoka: The People's Assembly deputies who will be elected on the basis of the provisions of the bill we are discussing have equal status in performing their duties as the people's representatives, regardless of who proposed them as candidates or whether they were registered as independent candidates. As has been reported, work is being done to define the legal status of deputies.

Editor: Article 24 states that social organizations and associations may jointly propose the same candidate. Can the party not propose candidates jointly with others? A misunderstanding has developed among some people, who fear that the more powerful organizations or associations will impose themselves on smaller ones.

Frrok Gjoka: The bill makes no exception of any organization, including the AWP, which can propose candidates jointly with others. All the legally recognized organizations are working to prepare detailed instructions for enforcing the law's demands. Each organization or association is separately determining the criteria, defining how and when it may cooperate in proposing joint candidates. We stress that all organizations, from the AWP to the associations, have equal legal conditions for proposing and registering candidates. The law takes no account of the number of members of an organization or association or its importance, but defines them all as equal. The law also recognizes the right of each of them, if they fail to agree among themselves, to nominate separate candidates in the constituency they wish.

We think that these replies add to the democratic image of the electoral bill. Nevertheless, other unclear or imprecise points will be further explained and decided at the meeting of the People's Assembly which begins in Tirana tomorrow.

Podkrepa Labor Confederation Holds General Strike

AU2611132290

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1000 GMT on 26 November carries several reports on the general strike called by the Podkrepa Labor Confederation and the participation of workers' collectives throughout the country.

An announcement by the Ministry of Transportation says that "railroad transportation throughout the country is normal," and that "as a whole" the city bus transportation system functions normally. Sofia's "Bread Products" Company reports that "no one in the company is striking," and that the normal supply of bread continues in all parts of Sofia. Vasilka Tsenkova, deputy general manager of the Sofia "Foodstuffs" Company, says that "the transportation system of the company is functioning normally," and that Sofia's stores have been supplied with foodstuffs.

"By 1000 a rally began in front of the administration building of the Kremikovtsi Enterprise," the announcer says. "It was impossible to determine the number of participants, but there were not many." Dimitur Dimitrov, "duty controller of Kremikovtsi Enterprise," reports that "all production units of the enterprise are functioning normally."

A report by the Ministry of Internal Affairs is quoted to the effect that "about 50 institutes and economic enterprises in Sofia and throughout the country are in strike readiness." In addition, the Ministry of Internal Affairs points out that "until now there were no serious clashes between the security organs and the striking citizens."

According to additional reports read by the announcer, workers of the Tsentromet Company in Vratsa, as well as the employees of the regional hospital and stomatological clinic and the workers of the cement producing enterprise, the heating system, water supply system, and canal network are on strike. In Gabrovo only a small part of the workers are striking; the city transportation and health protection system are functioning normally. In Kurdzhali the labor collectives are not striking. According to the announcer, "the leadership of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation has decided to refrain from striking in regions in which there is tension produced by other factors." Nevertheless, "the strike enjoys symbolic support in the city."

Several enterprises in Vidin, as well as part of the railroad transportation workers are reportedly on strike. Some of the drivers of the city transportation system in Pazardzhik are on strike.

In Plovdiv "68 enterprises and 40 schools are on strike." Reporter Sonya Karova reports that "the health protection enterprises in the city support the strike," and that "150 strike committees have been established in the city and the area."

In Dobrich only students, several schools, and about 200 teachers are reportedly striking. Correspondent Yovcho Karamfilov reports that "public order in the city has not been violated," and that all enterprises "are functioning normally."

Correspondent Ivo Kharizanov reports from Razgrad that unrest on an ethnic basis continues. Simultaneously, "the real strike of the Avtotransport Transportation Company continues, and this paralyzes all economic activity in the city." He also points out that the Podkrepa Labor Confederation has described the establishment of the "Razgrad Republic" as a "new communist act of blackmail." In addition, Kharizanov reports that Podkrepa has asked its members in Razgrad to participate in the strike only in a symbolic manner, in order to prevent a further escalation of tension.

Podkrepa Committee Reports on Strike

AU2611114290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Interview with Doycho Ivanov, vice president of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, by Petur Donchev in Sofia—live]

[Text] [Donchev] We have heard the reports from the studio. To now hear information from the Podkrepa Labor Confederation I have come to the Podkrepa headquarters. Vice President of Podkrepa Doycho Ivanov will give us some recent information.

[Ivanov] Greetings on behalf of the National Strike Committee. I would like to say that, unlike the information that arrives from official sources, and which is based on information provided solely by various administrative managers, unsupported by anything other than their signature, I shall convey to the radio listeners information that is based on the strike protocols.

By 1145 [0945 GMT] in Sofia some 25,000 people from more than 180 enterprises had joined the strike. The most serious strike activities are conducted in the planning bureaus and medical institutes. I must correct the representative of Kremikovtsi and say that, according to our strike protocols, at present 1,500 workers in Kremikovtsi are on strike.

[Donchev] I would like to ask you whether you have any information about acts of violence on the part of your strike committees against people who do not want to join the strike, such as the supporters of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria?

[Ivanov] No, we have no such information. I, personally, have visited several enterprises. I must tell you that immediately after the strike began improvised rallies were held everywhere. Each worker assumed his position toward the strike and there was no violence on any side.

[Donchev] Perhaps you would like to hear some information we have just received. For example, 90 percent of the workers of the Stefan Peshev Enterprise in Sevlievo

have joined the strike. All the workers of the Dobrich Dyers Enterprise are on strike. Fifty percent of Elprom workers in Kyustendil are on strike. All the workers of the Burgas Oil Processing Enterprises have joined the strike. At the moment a rally organized by the enterprises workers is about to end. I would like to correct something. I do not know what sources reported that the "Industrial Goods" Trade Enterprise is striking. We received a call from the enterprise denying the existence of a strike in the enterprise.

My last question to you, Mr. Ivanov: Can you confirm the announcement according to which the power supply workers will not join the strike?

[Ivanov] Our strike committee is observing the strike instructions and is tolerant toward the existing situation.

[Donchev] Thank you very much.

Independent TU Does Not Ban Striking

AU2611115890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Petur Donchev report from the headquarters of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Sofia on 26 November—live]

[Text] [Donchev] Despite the fact that the streets are full of pedestrians, some heroic efforts were needed to get here. I am talking to Professor Svetoslav Sabrev, deputy chairman of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria.

[Sabrev] First of all I would like to explain the essence of our Coordinating Council. We decided to refrain from participation in the general strike because the single-party government of Andrey Lukanov will certainly demonstrate its inability to cope with the situation. Thus, it simply is not necessary to strike a blow at our economy, which anyway is in a knock-down situation. Simultaneously, it must be understood that we do not ban strike activities on the part of our trade union organizations, when they adopt such a decision. We have not banned any protest activities.

Simultaneously, I would like to report that we are carefully following the development of the situation in the country and the change in public opinion, and we preserve our right to determine our next steps in accordance with the situation.

I would like to take this opportunity to report a meeting between Ginyo Ganev, deputy chairman of the Grand National Assembly, and the chairman of the Confederation of the Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, at which the newly created complex political and socioeconomic situation in the country were discussed. Ways of sharply increasing the efficiency of the Grand National Assembly and accelerating its legislating activity were discussed. Opinions were exchanged on creating a really functioning government with a broad basis, which will bear responsibility for the executive power and will be able to immediately begin the socioeconomic reform with the broad support of parliament.

In addition I would like to say that we are collecting signatures that express no confidence in the government. We have information from the four major cities on the successful progress of our campaign.

Simultaneously, I must report an unpleasant bit of information. We have just learned that two trade union activists in Plovdiv, who collected signatures in the street, were beaten up by unidentified persons. I think that the security organs must find out who those unidentified persons were.

[Donchev] Thank you very much.

Strike Observed 'All Over the Country'

AU2611123890 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Friedrich Orter report from Sofia]

[Excerpt] The strike call issued by the independent trade union Podkrepa is being observed all over the country—from Sofia to Varna, from Ruse to Plovdiv, in light and heavy industry, in kindergartens, schools, and universities. Members of the official trade union have also joined the strikes, even though its chairman, Krustyu Petkov, rejects the strike.

Special units of the Interior Ministry are patrolling in front of the factories. In Burgas, oil workers are blocking the pipeline of the country's largest refinery, that means that there will hardly be any gasoline available in the next few days.

In pharmacies only one counter is open—long lines form in front of it. In hospitals only the emergency service works.

This morning there was chaos in Sofia at the bus stops. The regular buses did not work, the city administration had to improvise. Sofia's young mayor, Aleksandur Karakachanov, of the Greens, hurried to one of the bus depots only to find that the Interior Minister had sent troops before he arrived—the officers with red berets, the units with helmets and shields. Hundreds of striking bus drivers are shouting for the resignation of the government. The mayor insists that the special police units be withdrawn, only then does he want to negotiate. The situation is escalating dangerously. Then the order from the Interior Ministry arrives: Everybody back.

Government head Lukanov is obviously losing his nerve. The strike is illegal because it is politically motivated, Lukanov says. He threatens the organizers of the strike committees with criminal persecution.

The government has tanks and helicopters, but we have a weapon that is much worse, Podkrepa Chairman Konstantin Trenchev says. This weapon is the empty cooking pots of the women who want to feed their children.

The strike is supported by the opposition, the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. In the June elections the SDS received 36 percent; the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]—the successor to the Bulgarian Communist Party—got 47 percent of the vote. If elections were held now the opposition would receive 48 percent and the BSP would get 31 percent, according to latest polls. [passage omitted]

Red Beret Units Deployed in Sofia

AU2611135690 Sofia BTA in English 1333 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 26 Nov (BTA)—Over half a million people throughout the country joined the general strike declared by the Podkrepa Labor Confederation demanding the resignation of Lukanov's government. The National Strike Committee will offer generalized data later in the afternoon.

"Podkrepa" has taken a resolution not to declare strike in the regions with ethnic tensions. The strike in the Kozloduy Atomic Power Station is symbolic.

There is information that members of the Confederation of Independent Syndicates are also joining the general strike. The confederation leadership said it would not participate in the strike but it won't stop its members participate in the strike if they wished to do so.

Nora Ananieva, deputy president of the Council of Ministers, said on the radio that the economic and non-material spheres in this country are operating as usual. She refuted the announcements about a strike in the Burgas Petro-Chemical Combine and in the Kremikovtsi Metallurgical Combine near Sofia.

Mrs. Ananieva recalled the stand of the Chief Prosecutor's Office about the strike unlawfulness.

An announcement of the Ministry of Interior says that up till now there are no serious collisions between the security forces and the strikers.

Four buses with Red Berets are placed in one of the central Sofia junctions. Buses with military number plates are travelling along the routes of the city transport are driven by civil drivers.

The students which have been on strike for four weeks now are solidary with the general strike. The teachers are on strike, too.

The strike is backed by the Union of Actors, by journalists from the BTA, the Bulgarian Radio and the Bulgarian Television.

Little Effect Reported in Varna, Dobrich

AU2611144490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Our correspondent Georgi Sveshtnikov reports that in Varna at the Georgi Dimitrov Shipyard, the Odessa Ship-Repair Plant, the 1 May Technological Works, the Bread Producing Factory, railroad transportation, Druzhba Enterprise, and many other major enterprises the strike activities are of a sporadic nature and do not significantly influence normal production in the city. The work of the dairy plant was especially productive. During last night the collective produced 68 tonnes milk, three times more than on the previous day.

Our correspondent in Dobrich, Yovcho Karamfilov, reports that the citizens of Dobrich apparently prefer to participate in signature-collecting activities and issuing declarations, rather than in strikes. According to the initiative of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation and the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, more than 10,000 signatures were collected today. Some demand the resignation of Lukanov's government, others the dissolution of parliament, the appointment of a caretaker government, and the setting of the date for new parliamentary and municipal elections.

Strike Reportedly Fails; Reports Disputed

AU2611144190 Vienna ORF Teletext in German 1430 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia—An attempted general strike in Bulgaria has obviously failed today despite contradictory reports from the government and the trade union.

While the trade union "Podkrepa," which had called for the nationwide strike, reported in the morning that 25,000 people in 180 enterprises have followed the call for the strike in Sofia, the government spoke of only sporadic strikes.

In a radio statement President Zhelev appealed to the government and the opposition to prevent the outbreak of civil war.

Government's Resignation Demanded

AU2611162890 Sofia BTA in English 1541 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 26 Nov (BTA)—Tens of thousands of strikers adherents of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, who gathered here for a rally insisted on the resignation of Mr. Andrey Lukanov's government.

The leader of Podkrepa, Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, and other trade union activists released data about the development of the strike which, according to them is legal. The strike will on until victory is won, Dr. Trenchev said.

Speeches were made by representatives of physicians, public transport drivers, students, actors, members of the trade union organizations of the Bulgarian Radio and Television who support the strike.

Prof. Nikola Vasilev, leader of the Alternative Socialist Party; representatives of the United Democratic Center; the Independent Human Rights Society, and other opposition organizations declared they support the strike. They called on Mr. Lukanov to resign, accusing sharply

the present cabinet and its leaders of inactiveness, incompetence, and irresponsibility.

Podkrepa Vice President Interviewed

AU2611181490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Interview with Doncho Ivanov, vice president of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, by reporter Maria Stefanova at Sofia Podkrepa Headquarters on 26 November—live or recorded; first paragraph is Sofia Radio introduction]

[Text] Stefanova: Doncho Ivanov, vice president of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, is with us tonight. He is, so to say, speaking from the opposite side, from the Podkrepa point of view and is trying to sum up the facts and data of this first day of the general strike.

[Ivanov] Good evening, esteemed radio listeners, good evening, free citizens of Bulgaria.

Good evening. I would like to calm down all those who are concerned about the latest declaration of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme Council and to tell them that so far there have been no announcements of the Chief Prosecutor's Office confirming that the strike is illegal. As we all know, this fact can only be established in court.

I would like to deny some of the official announcements received this afternoon, considering that our headquarters disposes of reliable documentation with protocols provided by the strike committees.

[Stefanova] Does this mean that your data are confirmed by protocols?

[Ivanov] Yes, of course, and the documentation is available. Let us turn to this afternoon's news: What is the situation in Sofia? The developments in Sofia by 1600 showed that we have protocols on 32,000 workers who are on actual strike [nonsymbolic] in Sofia, while the number of enterprises which have gone on strike increased from 180 at noontime to 218 by 1600. We should add to this the rally at the Aleksandur Nevski Square in the center of Sofia which was attended by 120,000 people, of whom at least 90,000 people were blue collar workers who will presumably complete their protocols by tonight or tomorrow. This may provide a real idea about the number of strikers in Sofia.

There is also a report that numerous labor collectives which are members of the Independent Trade Unions Federation have joined the strike. Perhaps the appearance of Professor Stavrev at the rally organized by Podkrepa played a role in this respect, but several pieces of information are already available to me showing that at the Mangan Company in Dobrich, for example, members of Podkrepa are already striking together with members of the Independent Trade Union Federation. The same situation is reported from several other enterprises in Dobrich. Similiar reports have arrived from other cities.

In the news programs at 1600 and 1700 it was reported that there is no effective strike going on in Kremikovtsi. To inform our listeners I would like to report the following information:

Over 1,500 people were on strike in Kremikovtsi today, while 150 workers were on strike in the [name indistinct] workshop, 100 people in the Peshtoremontstroy plant, 300 people in the Mekhanizatsiya i Avtotransport workshop, and all workers in the coke chemical plant were on strike, but it was a symbolic strike because production should not be interrupted in that plant. A total of 100 people were on strike in the repair mechanical plant, 200 people were on strike in the Turboprokat plant, while 1,000 workers engaged in the blast furnace department were also on strike. These are just the data from Kremikovtsi. We also obtained some facts from Burgas. According to official reports, the strike in that town is only symbolic, but according to our information, it turns out that following a one-hour nonsymbolic strike, a tremendously long line of automobiles formed in front of the petrochemical plant which are loading oil products. All this is a serious warning to the government which refuses to take the demands of the free Bulgarian citizens on their labor rights into consideration.

[Stefanova] Mr. Ivanov, I understand that the total number of strikers is not yet known. When will we be able to announce it?

[Ivanov] For the sake of all those who are aware and worried about the serious situation, we would like to provide exact information about the countrywide strike situation by tomorrow, considering that we have a tremendous amount of information to process for the time being. The exact figures available apply only to the capital, Sofia.

BSP Council Deems Strike Illegal

AU2611170690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Announcement from the Bulgarian Socialist Party Supreme Council Presidium, read by unidentified announcer—live]

[Text] I begin the news program by reading an announcement of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme Council Presidium:

The view of the BSP Supreme Council in connection with the strike organzed by the Podkrepa Labor Federation is well known.

The BSP shares the opinion of the Chief Prosecutor's Office that the strike is illegal, despite belated attempts to present it as a strike solely motivated by trade union demands.

The information which reaches the BSP Supreme Council headquarters from all over the country shows that the strike's organizers have not succeeded in achieving their goals.

They are trying to mislead public and are announcing that enterprises are on strike where there are no strikes at all, or where the number of strikers is insignificant. The greatest efforts of Podkrepa are focused on transportation and power supply enterprises because the interruption of their work creates the impression that the strike is successful and might provoke the desire of the organizers to create economic and social chaos.

In many places Podkrepa coordinators and strikers are exerting pressure and are threatening their colleagues to force them to join the strike. There are cases in which teachers are trying to manipulate students, which is in contradiction with the law and with all ethical and moral standards.

National Assembly deputies from the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] have tried to persuade labor collectives to go on strike. Podkrepa is actively making use of the radio to misinform the public about the real situation in the country. The truth is that the mass labor collectives all over the country distance themselves from the strike and refuse to proceed along the path of political adventure proposed by Podkrepa and by some SDS circles.

We think that it is inadmissible for the mass media, and the radio in particular, to become centers of strike leadership.

The BSP Supreme Council appeals to all sensible people throughout the country who cherish the principles of parliamentary democracy, regardless of their political affiliation, urging them not to yield to manipulation, to oppose the strike, which is aimed at provoking political and economic chaos, urging them to protest against attempts to mislead the public through mass misinformation by radio and television, urging them to support the Andrey Lukanov government.

Let me read to you the appeal launched at the end of the BSP announcement: Citizens, do not yield to pressure, voice your unmistakable protest against destabilization, chaos, and anarchy, because silence and passivity are dangerous for the country today.

I am not inclined to comment either on the aforementioned announcement, or on the appeal. Nevertheless, I am obliged to say something on my own behalf and on behalf of my colleagues: I just want to say quite frankly that we reject the expressions used in this announcement, such as mass disinformation, and the description of the radio as a center of strike leadership. These are strong expressions indeed, expressions which were used during the era prior to 10 November 1989, expressions, which I hope we have heard for the last time. This is all for the time being.

State Television Joins General Strike

AU2611175390 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Friedrich Orter report]

[Excerpts] Under the slogan, "Freedom, bread, and freedom," the independent trade union Podkrepa called a general strike. The strike is being followed all over the country. [passage omitted]

Lukanov described the general strike as an action by adventurers. He threatened that he would sue television journalists if they should report about the general strike in advance. However, the state television has also joined the strike. It will only air 10 minutes of news in the evening and show entertainment films the rest of the day. [passage omitted]

Sofia City Administration Responds

AU2611202990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] The session of the Sofia City People's Council is continuing. It discussed several items on the agenda, including the items related to the evaluation of agriculture in the area of the capital and in connection with the construction of a subway.

On item one of the agenda, namely the assessment of the strike announced by the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, the following decisions were adopted.

First, a decision on the noninterference of the Sofia City People's Council in the labor legislation disputes between working people and employers. Second, the city administration will observe Article 21 and Article 14, Paragraph 3 of the Law on Strikes, according to which the jobs of workers on strike should be filled by outside people only if they are related to transportation and communal services and to the food supply of the population.

Third, the answer to a teletyped message dispatched this morning by Nora Ananieva to the City People's Council was discussed. The answer to the message reacts against attempts to influence the decisions of the City Council through this kind of message.

BZNS Disagrees With Strike

AU2611203790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] The Bulgarian National Agrarian Union's [BZNS] Permanent Board discussed and [word indistinct] the appeal of the President of the Republic Doctor Zhleyu Zhelev on the so-called Razgrad Republic.

The Permanent Board also analyzed the extremely tense situation in the country related to the activities of the Socialist government. The resolution which was adopted points out that regardless of the (?negative attitude) toward the present government, the BZNS Permanent Board does not agree with extreme methods, such as the current strike.

The BZNS Permanent Board also distances itself from the appeal of the Independent Trade Unions Federation for a no-confidence vote in parliament.

BTA Summarizes Strike Activities

AU2611214790 Sofia BTA in English 1927 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 26 Nov (BTA)—All day long discrepant reports have been coming from all over the country about the proportions and the course of the general strike declared by the Podkrepa Labor Confederation and supported by most opposition parties and organizations.

The main demand of the strikers is the resignation of Andrey Lukanov's Socialist government.

Podkrepa has been informed that by 16:00 hrs. there were strikes at 218 enterprises in the Sofia. By noon the number of strikers who did not start work was about 32 thousands in Sofia. Podkrepa reports that 120 thousand people attended the rally held at noon in the center of Sofia and that at least 90 thousand of them were on strike, but part of the strikers have not drawn up the respective protocols on the strike yet.

The BTA correspondent reports from Plovdiv the second biggest Bulgarian city, that 70 enterprises and 30 schools are on effective strike. Most of the physicians in the city are also on strike.

According to information received from the seaport city of Burgas the production process in the Debelt Metallurgical Works, the shipbuilding yard and in three mines have been entirely blocked. All trawlers of the Okeanski Ribolov (Ocean Fishing) Company are on the strike alert. The gates of the Petrochemical Works in Burgas the biggest state-run company in Bulgaria, were picketed for one hour this morning. For the time being the strike there is a token one. However the workers have warned that the picket time will be extended by one hour every day until the whole production process is stopped. The strikers in the Petrochemical Works are raising trade union demands. In the meantime a deputy chairwoman of the Council of Ministers said that the information of the correspondents (witnesses of the events) was untrue. She denied that there is a strike in Burgas.

1200 People in the Nuclear Power Plant in Kozloduy have declared they support the Podkrepa demands. They are on a token strike.

The members and sympathizers of Podkrepa in more than 20 enterprises, institutions and schools in Ruse are on strike most of them are big machine-building plants and transport enterprises. It is difficult to estimate the exact number of agricultural workers who are on strike.

There was a cut in the power supply to the big industrial enterprises in Blagoevgrad and the neighbouring towns for three hours this morning because of the strike. The BTA correspondent reports that the members of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria have joined the Podkrepa strike there. The same has happened in Sofia and other cities and towns.

1200 people and 22 enterprises and companies in Veliko Turnovo are on strike.

It is difficult to determine the total number of strikers in the country. The information released by Podkrepa coordinators has been almost immediately denied by administrative leaders of enterprises, institutions and companies.

Late in the afternoon the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party declared that those who say that there is a strike in Bulgaria are liars and accused the central mass media, the radio and the television of "having turned into centers of misinformation directing the strike". The anchorman of Horizont Program of the Bulgarian Radio sharply reacted against the accusations and said they reminded him the time of Todor Zhivkov's regime.

As it is already known, on Saturday and yesterday Prime Minister Lukanov tried several times to forbid the BTA, the radio and the television to release information about the strike and threatened the leaders of these mass media that they would be brought to court.

The leadership of the Socialist (formerly Communist) Party repeats the statement made by the government two days ago, namely, that the strike is illegal.

Whether the strike is illegal can be established only at court, one of the Podkrepa leaders told journalists in this connection.

BTA Demands Government Resignation

AU2611221390 Sofia BTA in English 1943 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 26 Nov (BTA)—The journalists, workers and employees of the BULGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY demand the immediate resignation of Andrey Lukanov's government. It is underlined in a declaration signed by more than 260 people that it is the present government to blame for the humiliating cul-de-sac which the society has been led into, for the wasted time and for the Bulgarians' disappointed hopes. The government tried to muzzle the mass media and prevent them from releasing objective information. It continues to hold the national news agency paralyzed, ignoring for ten months now the demand of the BTA team for the appointment of a titular management.

The people who have signed the declaration declare they will not yield to the pressure exerted by the government. They express their support for the anti-government strike by supplying the society with quick and authentic information about the events.

Penchev Belittles Strike Effects

AU2611220490 Sofia BTA in English 2022 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 26 Nov (BTA)—Mr. Pencho Penchev, minister of the interior, went on television this evening to state that the "general strike is not supported by the

working people". According to data of the police, a little more than one percent of all employed in the country are on strike, the minister said.

"This is not a general strike and all basic systems in the country are functioning in a normal way" he said and cited data according to which "two of 130 people in some enterprises are on strike."

There is a discrepancy between the statement of the minister of the interior on the one hand and the television reports from different towns and cities, the information received from the organizers of the strike—the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, and the information sent by the correspondents of the BTA and of the Bulgarian Radio on the other hand.

The minister admitted however that 40 military buses driven by military drivers are running along the Sofia bus lines because the public transport drivers here are on strike.

In the central information block on the television the address of 18 of the 24 municipal mayors in Sofia were read. They qualified the reluctance of Prime Minister Lukanov to give in his resignation as "a political adventure which is doomed to failure" and called on him to withdraw from politics.

There were rallies and silent protests in many towns and cities this evening at which demands were made for Lukanov's resignation.

In the declaration of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria (CITUB) the events of the last few days were defined as "the beginning of a spontaneous revolution." The CITUB does not support the general strike, declared by the other biggest trade union organization because of the country's grave economic situation. But yesterday the CITUB opened a subscription insisting that the Grand National Assembly should dissolve. It is said in the declaration that signatures have been successfully collected in spite of the fact that some local committees of the Socialist (former Communist) Party in some provincial towns are trying to hinder the drive.

Strike Chairman Denounces Council of Ministers

AU2611214290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Statement by Dr. Krustyu Krustev, chairman of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation Strike Committee, in Sofia—live]

[Text] I am obliged to contest the Council of Ministers' efforts to mislead our listeners. It is natural that the government is worried by the current events and is unwilling to resign.

First of all, 152,000 people were on strike in Sofia today. This is more than evident, considering that 120,000 people joined the rally during their work time and 32,000 workers were on strike according to official protocols.

In the second place: The fact that food stores were functioning was officially described as an effort to obstruct the strike. As a matter of fact, however, this was one of the promises Podkrepa made—that it would not disturb the people's supply of basic foodstuffs. I do not think that the Council of Ministers would be cynical enough to force us to close down most of the food stores.

Perhaps we should have stopped supplying the people with food, considering that the Council of Ministers boasts about no strikes taking place in those establishments.

In the third place: Transportation in the capital was so normal, as the Council of Ministers claims, that the flow of traffic was cut off in entire districts, and the citizens had to suffer from the stubborness of Mr. Lukanov and his cabinet.

The information about the Burgas Petrochemical plant is also untrue, and the same applies to official reports about transportation in Pleven, [word indistinct], Gabrovo, and Ruse. The Debel Plant is not working at all, the mines are not working, generally speaking. As for the trade sector, we still support it but [words indistinct]. The government spokesmen and general managers are actually denying the truth with the sole objective of presenting the strike as totally unimportant. With combined actions, such as pressure, threats, attempts to make dismissals, inciting workers against their colleagues, acts which I would even refuse to comment upon, they are trying to save the government's skin.

The attempts of prohibitions and intimidation related to the Bulgarian Radio and Television are outrageous. The effort by the minister of internal affairs to threaten people with fines and to talk about 50,000 people on strike in the country, while their real number amounted to 152,000 in Sofia alone is even not worth talking about.

As a matter of fact, no less than 400,000 people were on strike all over the country today, which represents approximately nine percent of the working population. The strike will continue tomorrow and we will see what new surprises the Council of Ministers has in store for us.

Council of Ministers Statement on Strike

AU2611210690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Declaration by the Council of Ministers; place and date not given]

[Excerpt] According to data submitted to the Council of Ministers from ministries, departments, companies, and provisional executive committees of oblasts and municipalities, less than one percent of the country's working population has participated in the strike which was illegally proclaimed by the Podkrepa Labor Confederation.

This shows that in the difficult political situation the Bulgarian citizens manifested a lofty civic consciousness, a sense of responsibility, and common sense, and did not respond to the appeals of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation for a general political strike.

The organizers of the strike, taking advantage of the Bulgarian Radio and other mass media, are trying to create a wrong impression about the extent of the strike and to evoke the sympathy of the public. [passage omitted]

Labor Confederation Version of Strike

AU2611223890 Sofia BTA in English 2047 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 26 Nov (BTA)—Responding to the appeal made by the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, this morning members and organizations of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria (CITUB) joined the effective and token strikes in a number of enterprises in the capital and the country in support of the demand for the resignation of Prime Minister Lukanov's government, Mr. Doncho Ivanov, vice president of Podkrepa, announced. The information has been confirmed by Mr. Svetoslav Stavrev, vice president of the CITUB. He stated at today's rally organized by Podkrepa that the CITUB had not tried to impede its members from joining the Podkrepa strike drive and underlined once more the position of the CITUB leadership that not only the present government should resign, but the Grand National Assembly should dissolved, too.

According to the vice president of Podkrepa, it would be possible to estimate the proportions the strike wave had taken only tomorrow. The Podkrepa Labor Confederation would not like to commit itself to information which had not been checked, he said. From the protocols received by 16:00 hrs. Today it could be seen that 32 thousand people and 218 enterprises and companies in Sofia are on strike. Referring to the protocols received, he disproved some reports of the Bulgarian Radio that in a number of cities, towns and industrial centers there were not effective strikes and that only individual persons went on strike there. By noon the number of strikers at the Kremikovtsi Metallurgical Works (situated near Sofia) had become 1500. There are strikes at a number of cultural institutions: the strikers at the National Library in Sofia are about 160; about 50 percent of the staff of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences is on strike; 500 people at the Bulgarian Radio subscribed to the demand for the resignation of the government and went on a token strike.

The United Strike Committee of the Bulgarian Television declared at today's rally that the strikers at the television fully support the declaration made by Podkrepa on November 19. The spokesman for the committee pointed out that theirs are social, not political demands, and announced that although there is a strike at the Bulgarian Television, it will continue to air its programs. Another speaker dwelt on the freedom of journalism and called upon the participants in the rally to support the strikers at the Bulgarian Television, because its building might be occupied by "the Red Berets".

It has been announced that the workers in four Bulgarian compounds in the Komi ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] are going on strike tomorrow.

Twenty-four labor collectives engaged in the construction sector, machine-building, education and the light industry in Lovech are on strike.

The sailors' trade union in the seaport city of Varna has also joined the strike. About 100 vessels of the Bulgarian Marine which are in different ports all over the world will probably go on effective strike on November 28, due to the specific character of their work. Transport communications with the holiday complexes near the city have been paralyzed.

By 17:00 hrs. 67 enterprises in Pleven had gone on strike. Except for two trolley buses, transport services in the city are paralyzed.

According to preliminary data bout 140 enterprises in Plovdiv, the second biggest city in Bulgaria, are on strike.

There are protocols evidencing that there are strikers in a number of smaller towns.

It was explained that the absence of political parties' leaders from today's rally was probably due to the consultations they are supposed to have held. Tonight the participants in the rally could be heard chanting slogans in front of the Presidency. There is some talks that Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov is there. There is information as to whether some talks have been held between the government and the trade unions.

Vice President Meets Political Forces in Razgrad

AU2611203390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Ivo Kharizanov report from Razgrad; date not given—recorded]

[Text] Tonight a three-hour meeting took place at the headquarters of the municipal People's Council during which representatives of the political forces, the local government organs, and the Prosecutor's Office met Atanas Semerdzhiev, vice president of the Republic.

General Semerdzhiev expressed his concern about the social tension emerging in the area for which the Committee for the Defense of National Interests and the Fatherland Party of Labor are to be blamed in connection with the proclamation of the so-called Bulgarian Razgrad Republic.

Vice President Semerdzhiev stressed that Bulgaria needs calm and civil peace more than ever today, that such actions cannot be considered as appropriate methods of resolving nationality problems, and that the actions in question are unlawful to a great extent.

Other speakers at the meeting assessed the recent events in the area as manifestations of political extremism and pointed out that despite the lack of actual criminal acts, an act aimed at violating the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity has nevertheless been committed.

Following this meeting, a rally took place in the center of Razgrad at which Gencho Pavlov from the regional Committee for the Defense of National Interests stressed the symbolic meaning of the Razgrad Republic and the complete abstention from any territorial claims. He added that the Movement for Civil Disobedience recognizes the National Assembly, the government, and respects the laws of the country, and recognizes the local government organs, but is resolved to struggle against them by constitutional means.

Ecoglasnost Denounces Razgrad 'Republic' Decree

AU2711093790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Declaration by the Ecoglasnost Parliamentary Group Executive Council; place and date not given]

[Text] The proclamation of the so-called Razgrad Republic can only be defined as a provocation by the local nomenklatura at a crucial moment in the life of our country.

People who over several months have declared themselves to be the most sincere patriots and real champions of the Bulgarian spirit, insolently accusing the other political forces of conducting a separatist policy, have now committed one of the most outrageous crimes against the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Ecoglasnost wholeheartedly supports the president of the Republic's declaration of 24 November 1990 on thise issue and appeals to its members and supporters, especially those living in the areas with a mixed ethnic population, urging them resolutely to distance themselves from such actions and to resist the efforts directed against our homeland's territorial integrity with all legal methods that are available to them.

SDS Discusses Conditions for Return to Assembly

AU2611171090 Sofia BTA in English 1630 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 26 Nov (BTA)—It has not been decided yet if the parliamentary Union of Democratic Forces will come back to parliament, Mr. Mikhayl Nedelchev, the spokesman for the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) told journalists today. On November 23, after the Bulgarian parliament voted down the motion for no-confidence in Mr. Lukanov's government, the opposition parliamentary union stated they would stay out of parliament for some time to discuss the new situation.

Mr. Nedelchev said that the union will set conditions for its comeback in parliament, but what exactly the conditions would be will become known tomorrow. According to the opposition spokesman one of the conditions will be the quick adoption of some priority laws. With its 144 seats, the parliamentary Union of Democratic Forces is the biggest opposition group in parliament.

Today the major political forces opened consultations to find a way out of the political crisis.

The opposition spokesman announced that the SDS supports the general strike declared by the Podkrepa Labor Confederation. He pointed out that unlike the prosecuting magistracy, the law experts of the opposition consider the strike a legal one.

At the moment the opposition is working on the formation of a shadow cabinet, Mr. Nedelchev said but did not mention any names. Probably the shadow cabinet will be headed by Dr. Petur Beron, the present leader of the SDS. Mr. Mikhayl Nedelchev refused to comment on the positions of the separate parties and organizations within the SDS, but said there were differences between them. Part of the SDS members hold the view that Lukanov's government should stay in office and carry out the inevitable unpopular measures, thus assuming responsibility for them. According to some parties it is too early for the SDS to take over all the executive power.

SDS Declaration on No-Confidence Vote Published

AU2611224090 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 23 Nov 90 p 5

[Declaration of the Parliamentary Group of the Union of Democratic Forces; place and date not given]

[Text] The Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] Parliamentary Group expresses its concern about the country's sociopolitical situation. We are soberly assessing the situation in full awareness of our responsibility. We fully share the spontaneous desire for a change, for pursuing the democratic process, and for a prompt and resolute rescue of our country from a third national disaster. This aspiration is the expression of the Bulgarian people's political maturity. It reflects their wish for a happier and more prosperous life, for greater security.

It is from this point of view that we assess the actions of the country's major political forces. The main issue is the question to what extent the political efforts throughout the year 1990 were aimed at the expansion and intensification of the democratic processes, to what extent they pursued the trend of promptly and effectively dismantling the totalitarian structures, and to what extent certain efforts have contributed and are still contributing to the obstruction of the democratization process, to the preservation of the conservative forces which still accompany this process.

The facts show that economic chaos is still prevailing in our country and is even deteriorating, that corruption and black markets are freely developing. The government is behind the stage manipulations in promoting the transformation of the party and state property into the property of private companies, the uncontrolled export of basic foodstuffs, and the categorical unwillingness and incapacity of holding responsible and taking legal action against the culprits for the national disaster evoked particularly sharp public reaction. We evaluate these and numerous other facts as an effort of the party nomenklatura and of the financial partyocracy [partokratsiya] to provide a cover for its actions through the means of the

executive power and thus to involve thousands of decent Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] members in criminal activities, or in supporting such activities.

It has become quite evident that Mr. Andrey Lukanov's economic manipulations and his political bias are subject to one goal—namely to the objective of accumulating the greatest possible economic and political advantages for the party's financial oligarchy. Mr. Lukanov is the representative of those visible and invisible grave diggers of our country in whose name he is ruling. Last week Mr. Lukanov submitted the government's budget to parliament and in an authoritative tone he urged the National Assembly to immediately vote for it. There was even more. He categorically linked this wish to the condition for resigning from his post. Such a step is unprecedented in worldwide parliamentarian practice. It once more confirmed our justified misgivings that Mr. Lukanov, in promoting his personal ambitions and in protecting the interests of certain political and economic circles, places himself above the National Assembly and places the problems of the executive power over the country's legislative body by trying to force our parliament to adopt a pace and method of work which were characteristic of the command-administrative state.

We categorically declare our conviction that Bulgaria needs a new government today, a government composed of individuals who have no share in the state and party administration of the period preceding 10 November, individuals who have never been active builders and promoters of the totalitarian political system. The SDS Parliamentary Group advocates a new government likely to guarantee a change in the system, a government of national salvation which enjoys the people's confidence.

We know and we are convinced that a government in which the SDS prevails, a government which enjoys the people's confidence, a government which symbolizes the change of the system will obtain broad international support by all countries in which market economy is in unison with a democratic political system. A one-party socialist government is a government which cannot be trusted, a government which promotes our country' international isolation. It places our country in an international political vacuum, which is extremely unfavorable as regards the Bulgarian people's hopes for a normal economic and political life.

Our declaration is addressed to all Bulgarian citizens, regardless of their political affiliations and views. We proclaim that the government's resignation would be useful for the country only if it is accomplished on time. In realizing our responsibility toward the country's future, we call on the Grand National Assembly deputies to cast a no confidence vote for Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov, thus voting for a government based on nationwide confidence, for a government which guarantees a change in the system and national salvation.
22 November 1990.

Government's Reform Timetable, Progress Reported

AU2611145790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 21 Nov 90 p 1

[Text] The news service of the Council of Minister reports that the following 10 items of the government timetable on economic reform for the period from 11 through 20 November have been fulfilled:

—The former government decisions on restricting the independent monetary-credit and interest policy of the Bulgarian National Bank have been revoked.

—As many as 19 economic associations and monopolist combines dealing with the purchase, trade and processing of agricultural goods and engaged in the trade with mass consumer goods have ceased to exist.

—A proposal on partially suspending the moratorium on privatization in the purpose of accelerating "small-scale" privatization has been submitted to the Grand National Assembly.

—A decree on speeding the sale of housing units owned by the state, or by other public institutions to their current inhabitants has been adopted.

—The Bulgarian National Bank begins with the sale of state bonds from its own share in the capital of trade banks to private citizens and companies.

—A decision on cutting the expenditures and reducing the number of Bulgarian missions abroad and of their personnel has been adopted.

—Provisional financial and other economic measures for encouraging the opening of new jobs have been approved.

—A decision on completing the system of registration, re-employment, training and retraining programs, new employment, and financial assistance for the unemployment has been adopted.

—Negotiations with a delegation of the World Bank on the country's economic situation and on the necessary financial-credit assistance are currently under way.

Presidential Spokesman Cites Election Results

LD2611154390 Prague CTK in English 1439 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 26 (CTK)—Czechoslovak presidential spokesman Michael Zantovsky today commented on the preliminary results of last weekend's local elections in Czechoslovakia, in which the Czechoslovak Communist Party ranked second in the Czech Republic with 17.4 per cent of votes after the Civic Forum (the Communists rank third in Slovakia after the Christian Democratic Movement and Public Against Violence with 13.6 per cent).

"We do not hide we are unpleasantly surprised at this result to a certain extent", he said.

He told a news conference that it is necessary to wait until definite results are made known on November 28, 1990. Then also President Vaclav Havel will comment on the elections' course and outcome. Zantovsky said that the president is satisfied with the participation of voters in the local elections especially in the Czech Republic while in Slovakia the participation was lower. The local elections, held in the Czech Republic on November 24 and in the Slovak Republic on November 23-24, were the first free local elections in Czechoslovak after 52 years.

"As to the future fate of the federated we are still optimistic thinking we have a reason for our optimism", Zantovsky said in reference to discussions on the division of powers between the Federal, the Czech and the Slovak Governments. He pointed out the results of a public opinion poll conducted by the Association for Independent Social Analysis (AISA) "which clearly indicate that the majority of Czechoslovak citizens prefer an immediate start of the economic reform, immediate settlement of economic issues, assigning only little significance to national and nationality disputes and disputes on the division of powers. We think that our politicians should take into consideration the opinion of citizens in this respect."

Asked whether the president supports the blueprint for the economic reform worked out by a team of Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus or favours the opinions which put emphasis on social impact of the reform, Zantovsky said that the president does nto support an economic reform blueprint elaborated by an individual person but that one approved by the Federal Government. "He supports it unconditionally", he said. The economic reform will start in Czechoslovakia on January 1, 1990.

According to Zantovsky, Prague Castle has no information that a foreign intelligence service may be interested in destablization of the situation in Czechoslovakia, which Slovak Interior Minister Ladislav Pittner said on Saturday [24 November].

Zantovsky agreed with a Polish journalist who described results of the first round of the presidential elections in Poland at the weekend as rather surprising.

At the invitation of Kind Juan Carlos I of Spain, Havel will pay an official visit to Spain on December 11-12 and will stay there until December 13, Zantovsky said.

Government Meets To View Current Problems

AU2011202790 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 16 Nov 90 pp 1, 16

["(ha)"-signed report: "Strategic Decisions"]

[Text] The statement that "the Federal Government meeting was very extensive" ceased to be a cliche. It has become true. At a press conference, Economy Minister V. Dlouhy and Federal Deputy Prime Minister R. Rychetsky informed us about the issues that had been discussed at yesterday's meeting of the government. Here are some of them:

The Federal Government decided that the construction of the Ostrava-Karvina Coke Plant in Stonava will be immediately halted. This decision is in conformity with the government's concept for the Czechoslovak coke production industry and puts a definitive stop to the disputes between ministerial departments about who will manufacture what kind of coke. The principle that the environment where coke is produced today should be improved and not further destroyed by the construction of new plants was respected. At the same time, however, heating coke, along with natural gas, is considered to be the only suitable replacement for polluting energy resources. This is why the government anticipates spending money from the state budget on the improvement of the ecological situation in coke plants and considers provisions stimulating the production and consumption of heating coke. In view of the division of power between the federation and republics, the elaboration of a concept for a new coke industry will belong to the competence of the Czech and Slovak Governments.

The Federal Government also discussed the establishment of a new joint stock company from the East Slovakia Iron Works in Kosice. This steel giant, employing 27,000 workers and producing an output worth 19 billion korunas a year, is, under current economic conditions, the most profitable metallurgical enterprise. Preliminary calculations show that even after the transition to world prices, the situation in the enterprise should not deteriorate. This is why the government approved the establishment of the East Slovakia Iron Works in Kosice as a joint stock company according to the founding plan presented by the Federal Ministry of Economy.

P. Rychetsky provided information about the government's standpoint on the Federal Assembly's draft law on the property of communities. It pertains to the property administered by territorial organs that will be

established after the local elections. The Federal Government recommends that the community property be defined as the original property that belonged to them on 31 December 1949, the property that has been built under the "Z"-project [community self improvement program], and the property built by citizens in the so called "self-help" [svepomocny] actions. Other property will remain state owned property under temporary administration by communities with the proviso that this property will be regulated by privatization laws. In view of the fact that it is impossible for the Federal Assembly to pass this law in such a manner as to allow its implementation on 1 January 1991, the government recommends not to discuss it at all. The Federal Government will present its own draft law.

Minister V. Dlouhy answered a question which is very important for the broad public: "The rumors about another gasoline price increase are unfounded. The situation in crude oil supply is not so critical that it would be necessary to increase the prices even more."

Only briefly from the communique from yesterday's government session: With the approaching summit of the CSCE, which will take place from 19 November to 21 November in Paris, the decision on the establishment of its secretariat is also approaching. Czechoslovakia proposes that this secretariat be located in Prague.

During the summit the representatives of 22 Warsaw Pact and NATO countries will sign an agreement on conventional armed forces in Europe. Summit participants will discuss the final document and a new provision that is supposed to strengthen the feeling of confidence and security in Europe. The establishment of a parliamentary committee of this commission is also anticipated. This committee will have a task to establish closer relations between this process and some existing institutions, above all, with the European Council. A center for avoiding conflicts will be thus established.

The Federal Government also discussed the standpoint toward the draft principles of the law on the suspension of the Federal Assembly deputy mandate. It also dealt with the preparation of the sixth session of the Czechoslovak-Chinese Commission for Economic, Trade, and Technological Cooperation, which will take place from 23 to 29 November in Beijing. It also passed a resolution on the procedure for concluding economic, trade and technological cooperation with the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], the Uzbek SSR, the Azerbaijani SSR, and with Lithuanina and Estonia.

Deputies Agree on Name for New Secret Service

AU1911211490 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 17 Nov 90 p 2

[Jan Subert report: "A Secret Service Called FIS"]

[Text] Yesterday's session of the Federal Assembly Defense and Security Committees resumed the recently initiated discussion of the law on a federal secret service and the use of intelligence methods by considering individual paragraphs of the law in a matter-of-fact manner. Only five of the 36 paragraphs were discussed.

At the beginning of their discussion the deputies selected the most suitable name for the federal secret service with the condition that its abbreviation be identical in both Czech and Slovak. Nine suggestions were made with most votes going to the suggestion Federal Information Service. This name is—undoubtedly—nice, but we have to add that its abbreviation FIS is, unfortunately, identical to the foreign language abbreviation currently being used by the International Skiing Federation.

One of the Slovak deputies referred to the lack of faith shown by some Slovak circles in a federal secret service controlled from Prague. He stated that hundreds of people work in this service—which is still known as the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy—of which only 50 are Slovaks. Moreover, there is a tendency in the central headquarters, apparently, to try and get rid of this small group of Slovak citizens.

The above-mentioned view was immediately rejected by Engineer J. Muller, director of the Office, who declared that the intention is completely the opposite. He stated that some time ago he asked the director of the Slovak branch offices to provide headquarters with Slovak staff; he also turned to Prime Minister Meciar with the same request.

A subject for the deputies' comments was the formulation where it is stated that the director of the service is obliged on request to provide the president, the CSFR Government, the Czech Government, and the Slovak Government with information within a requested time limit. A demand was expressed that this should also apply to the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council. In view of the fact that, during the proceedings, deputies left the chamber and went into the corridor, the committees were unable to reach a quorum and had no other choice but to wait for the deputies to return. The proposal, however, did not make it through the voting process.

Deputies from the Chamber of People also did not pass a proposal that, if the director of the service is a Czech, his deputy should be a Slovak and vice versa. Only deputies from the Chamber of Nations were in favor of this. A debate also developed in connection with the internal directives for the secret service's method of work and with keeping files on various persons. The deputies demanded that these activities be made known and that they be amended in accordance with the legal regulations. Let us add, on the other hand, that the publication of internal directives would betray the secret service's internal structure and would paralyze its activity. Further discussion of the law on the Federal Information Service was postponed until one of the future meetings of the Defense and Security Committees.

Havel Answers Questions at Charles University

AU2011111590 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 16 Nov 90 p 2

["kva"-signed report: "President Answers Students' Questions"—first paragraph is LIDOVE NOVINY introduction]

[Text] Prague—If some recent statements seemed to indicate that the young protagonists of last year's November revolution have lost all interest in politics, a look cast yesterday in the large auditorium of the Faculty of Philosophy at Charles University in Prague bore witness to the opposite.

It was full during an afternoon visit by Deputy Jegl and Minister Dienstbier, and during the evening discussion with President Havel, many students stood on one leg so they could squeeze in. Nevertheless, one of the questions that arrived at the long lectern, written on a small sheet of paper (in Slovak, by the way) was: How do you think we can fight the moral destruction of our nations, which we encounter on daily basis? The president admitted that he himself did not expect that it would reach such a dimension. He did, however, expect that as soon as the postrevolutionary euphoria filled with enthusiasm and tolerance evaporates, also the more negative human features would come the fore, as they are included in the liberation. He does not feel, however, so much taken by surprise because of the simple fact that in prison he learned not to be surprised by anything. Nevertheless, he did not offer a hint, only an explanation. For long years, we have been living in a straitjacket, he said, now we have taken it off but our bodies are deformed by the jacket. Yet, he declared that fundamentally he is an optimist.

Other questions of interest were also raised during the hour President Havel spent among the students. One of them concerned vetting. The president believes that, strictly speaking, the demand for screening is justified; however, not all cases are absolutely unambiguous and vetting could harm people who may have only acted with insufficient care, and out of fear or ignorance, they accepted, let us say, only to meet a State Security member in a cafe, which could have placed them on a list of State Security collaborators.

About his relationship with V. Klaus, President Havel said that they are friends of long standing and the bonds between them correspond to this fact. If they disagree on something, they simply argue, which, as T.G. Masaryk used to say, is a part of politics.

A slight sigh was V. Havel's response to a question whether he thinks that the power of the powerless has changed into the powerlessness of the powerful. He complained that of the ideas and remarks he drops, 90 percent may fall under the table but the remaining ten percent are realized as fast as if they were orders. It sometimes scares me, he said, and gave the example of renaming the Main [railway] Station [in Prague]. He had, in fact, mentioned that on the occasion of the American President's visit the original name of Wilson could be returned to the station, but in no way was it a decision.

Havel Outlines Successes of Past Year

AU2011161490 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 17 Nov 90 p 1

[Reply given by President Vaclav Havel to a CTK question asked on the eve of the 17 November 1989 anniversary; place not given: "We Have Our Place in the World"—first paragraph is NARODNA OBRODA introduction]

[Text] Some students have refused to celebrate today's anniversary and have appealed to citizens to think instead about the things we achieved from 17 November 1989 to 17 November 1990. A CTK reporter asked CSFR President Vaclav Havel to reply to the same question:

"At the moment, there is a general tendency to emphasize everything that has not been achieved since 17 November and everything that has not been a success; an atmosphere of disillusion, dissatisfaction, intolerance, nervousness, and criticism of the current leadership prevails. I understand this atmosphere very well and I identify with the dissatisfaction and intolerance on many points. It will do no harm, however, to recall the several things which we have carried out. For example, we have succeeded in concluding an agreement on the departure of Soviet troops and we have succeeded in organizing free elections. We have a free press. Several dozen new laws have been adopted, although—of course—many other legal norms still have to be adopted and some, the most important ones, only await approval by the Federal Assembly. Czechoslovakia has once again acquired a place in the world; we are respected as an independent and democratic country. During the course of a single year, our achievements alone signify that we are no longer anyone's satellite. During the year since 17 November 1989, we have truly been successful in several things. The economy and economic reform are now at the center of general attention and I hope that small-scale privatization will begin as soon as possible and that the law on large-scale privatization as well as the other laws associated with it will be approved."

Time 'Wasted' During Past Year Lamented

AU2111083290 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 17 Nov 90 p 1

[Libor Sevcik commentary: "Anniversary"]

[Text] "Let us have a glorious celebration" was the exhortation contained in Slavy Dcera [The Daughter of Slavs], the Slavs' classic poem. I am glad that the students have not succumbed to our popular mania for celebration and—at least this time—have prevented the anniversary day in Prague from turning into undignified shenanigans.

A year has passed since local communists—across half a century—embraced German fascists and permitted decent students to be beaten. The year, which has gone by so quickly, was so remarkable that perhaps now with the passage of time we will be able to fit everything correctly into place, to analyze it, and to evaluate it. Following the euphoria of November and December, disenchantment, dissatisfaction with the slowness of the changes, intolerance, and disillusion necessarily had to set in.

In the first really free postwar elections we made it clear whom we do not want, but we are far from being so united in what we actually want. (The programs of all the parties and movements, including those of the communists, are so similar that—with a minimum of cosmetic textual changes—they could be interchangeable). We are full of enthusiasm for the market economy and privatization, but a tiny worm of doubt is beginning to gnaw away at our little Czech minds. Instead of homo economicus—who would just roll up his sleeves—being finally awakened in us, for the sake of saving a couple of korunas we are hoarding packets of salt, filling our cupboards with flour, which after a month will be crawling with worms, and closing our drapes so that we do not see what is actually happening in the world outside.

The time we wasted during the past year in petty jurisdiction disputes, in hyphen tugs-of-war, and in pseudo-nationalistic arguments will cost us dear. The days and weeks we have lost will mean months and years of difficulties, but only if the arguments are behind us. Social demagogues are swarming under long-profaned slogans for the protection of workers' rights, rights which, implemented by them, always meant—in the final analysis—impoverishment. If we give these people time and scope, the consequences will be much more catastrophic than the mistakes we have made this year. After a year, we are still at the start because what was called socialism (real, with a human face, and so on) is only now coming to an end and it is apparent that it is much more deeply ingrained in us than we thought a year ago. No resolutions, declarations, or changes of name can influence this. Real changes will only come about with economic changes. It will hurt, but in another year it would hurt even more.

Calfa Discusses Economic Development Problems

AU2611142690 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 26 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Thomas Chorherr report: "CSFR Fears Social Unrest, Price Hikes, Unemployment, Strikes"]

[Text] Prague—Unemployment of up to 10 percent—"if everything goes well!"—is expected by CSFR Prime Minister Marian Calfa for next year. In an exclusive interview with DIE PRESSE, the head of government of our neighboring country openly expressed his concern about economic development, spoke of the possibility of social unrest, and also did not rule out the "call for a strong man," caused by a rightist populist wave. Austria might help through comprehensive cooperation. If necessary, a referendum may decide on the independence of Slovakia, Calfa, who is a Slovak himself, said.

"The negotiations about the existence of the federation between the Czech lands and Slovakia have cost me a year of my life!" Marian Calfa, formerly reform communist and now CSFR prime minister, is what one likes to call a "critical optimist" in Prague today. In his large office in the prime minister's palace near the Moldava [Vltava], which is equipped with light furniture, he soberly describes the situation concerning the separatist efforts of his Slovak compatriots: "If everything goes well, the new federative system will be valid as of 1 January. At the same time, we will negotiate on a new constitution. The voices calling for Slovakia's independence have certain support. These voices are not unimportant, but they are certainly not so important that they dominate public opinion. If it is necessary, however, we would be willing to hold a referendum on secession by Slovakia. At the moment, however, the situation is not so dramatic by far!"

Prime Minister Calfa does consider the economic situation dramatic. The complete liberalization of prices—apart from those for staple foods—which is envisaged for 1 January will lead to price hikes, estimates of which oscillate between 15 and 30 percent; pessimists expect up to 50 percent. At the moment, Calfa says, there is no unrest, but the unavoidably resulting unemployment will have consequences. How high will unemployment be? "It should rise to no more than 10 percent." At the moment it is only 0.5 percent of the approximately million working people. The reason for the increase will be a fateful chain: reduction of purchasing power through price hikes, closing of enterprises and subsequent laying off of working people, and further reduction in purchasing power, which will lead to further closing down of enterprises, linked with the privatization planned by the government.

"There are many unknown quantities, however," Calfa explains. "What happens if the Russians suddenly cannot or do not want to deliver us any oil at all? We have no stocks whatsoever!" In other words: There are factors that do not rule out even higher unemployment. Then, according to Calfa, even though there will not be a return to the old—that is, communist—conditions, the democratization will be braked and a "rightist populist" mood among the public will develop.

"We are playing a game that has not been played before. Mistakes are possible and the result is uncertain. We have one big advantage, however: We border on some states with stable economic and political conditions. The entire democratic world is observing, checking, and supporting our development. This is a good support! If the nonsocialist states struggled for us to liberate us from our situation, it is now their moral duty to support us."

Naturally, Austria is mentioned in this connection. Prime Minister Calfa sees many opportunities for cooperation and support by the neighbor. For instance, through participation of Austrian investors in the "big privatization" which is now being discussed in parliament and which is to comprise 80 percent of the production facilities in the country. "Austria's participation would be completely natural," Calfa stresses. He sees good opportunities, in particular in the field of environmental technology, but he also wants to have Austria involved in traffic planning. According to Slovak ideas, the East Highway is to receive a branch on Austrian territory that goes to Bratislava, and a branch of a pipeline is to be laid from Schwechat [Austrian refinery] to Bratislava.

Calfa also sees opportunities for cooperation concerning the establishment of joint recreational zones on the Moravian and Bohemian border areas. "There the border could be just symbolic; there would be large nature preserves with a recreational infrastructure!"

What about the problems with the CSFR nuclear power plants? Calfa smiles: "I have waited for you to broach this topic. You have not disappointed me!" Then the prime minister gets serious again. The Austrian commission, which inspected Bohunice, returned home "not unsatisfied." "This, however, was published rather little in Austria!" In general, the CSFR wants to use only "100-percent safe reactors," "in the interest of our own people." Therefore, the Soviet reactor types will not be used anymore. Giving up nuclear energy altogether is out of the question. "We want to give up brown coal, which currently fuels 68 percent of our thermal power plants. It is easy for Austria to make these demands: It has hydrological power. We have to look for other alternative energies; nuclear power is the one that offers itself first of all, but in the future we want to build small reactors that are of local importance."

Even though the CSFR is very interested in cooperation with Austria in the Pentagonal group, Marian Calfa makes one thing very clear: "The idea of turning this region into a nuclear-free zone is impossible."

Strike Alert Spreads Among Miners, Steel Workers

AU2011104990

[Editorial Report] Czech newspapers on 16 November publish several reports on the "atmosphere of unrest" in Czechoslovak mining and metallurgical enterprises.

Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 16 November on page 3 carries a 100-word unattributed report stating that the "employees of the uranium industry and uranium ore mines joined the strike alert" declared for the Ostrava-Karvina coal basin on 14 November over social demands (the approval of "extraordinary retirement for health-impaired miners" at the age of 50 and the government's funding of compensation to miners whose health was damaged at work). Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 16 November on page 2 carries a 100-word "fil"-signed report stating that miners of the Rosice Coal Mines in South Moravia, the smallest coal basin in the country, also joined the strike alert on 15 November. Prague PRACE in Czech on 16 November on page 3 carries a 120-word "dav"-signed report entitled "Strike Call." The report deals with the 15 November session of trade union representatives of North Moravian metallurgical enterprises. According to the report "the trade union representatives did not hide their concern over present relations between the Federal Government and trade unions." They agreed that "if the government will not respect the agreements of the tripartite commission, they will opt for a collision course." Representatives of one of the plants of the Vitkovice steel mill proposed at the meeting that "a demonstrative 10-minute warning strike be staged in all organizations on Friday, 30 November."

Klaus Statement on Assets of Communities Published

AU2011115190 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 16 Nov 90 p 7

[CTK report: "V. Klaus on Privatization and Assets of Communities"]

[Text] Finance Minister V. Klaus asked CTK to publish the following statement: "We have already encountered attempts to exempt from privatization all kinds of property today while discussing the law on 'small privatization.' Unfortunately, these attempts are motivated by an effort to prevent public auctions, and to acquire the production units without competition from other interested parties. These motives gained in strength after the bill on the assets of communities became generally known. This bill, however, was rejected not only by the government but by the Federal Assembly legislative committees as well. The common grounds for the rejection by both was the fact that the bill conflicted with the privatization program, and thereby with the program for the transformation of the Czechoslovak economy.

There is no doubt that communities will have property. They will, however, gain it gradually, depending on not only the progress of the privatization but also the amendment of the property injustices of the past, i.e., reprivatization. The CSFR Government does not reckon with any extensive transfer of commercially utilizable property to the communities. As soon as possible, taxes on the enterprise of other persons (private, mixed, or state enterprises), various types of fees, and subsidies from higher-level budgets must become the source of finances for community budgets. Communities need not be dependent on their own enterprise, and even less on leasing or privatization of community property. The prosperity of communities must be dependent on the prosperity of the entrepreneurs operating in the community."

Sokol Tipped as Next Czech Interior Minister

AU2711121390 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 24 Nov 90 p 2

[Replies given by Vojtech Sedlacek, a representative of the Civic Forum Coordinating Center, and Deputy Prime Minister Pavel Rychetsky to a question asked by "(TMA)" and "(PKR)"-signed reporters; place and date not given]

[Text] [MLADA FRONTA DNES] It is being rumored that Tomas Sokol should be the new Czech interior minister. Is this true?

[Sedlacek] This issue was discussed yesterday by the Civic Forum collegium and I am able to say that Tomas Sokol is the candidate to whom we are giving most consideration. I would rather not mention the other names under consideration. Unnecessary speculation would only arise around the entire matter.

[Rychetsky] Prime Minister Petr Pithart informed us at the beginning of the meeting that the government had invited certain candidates to consultations and had decided that the most suitable candidate is Tomas Sokol. Tomas Hradilek was an excellent minister, but he could not bear the psychological and physical impact of such a difficult post. We are convinced that Mr. Sokol has the correct disposition to be able to confront the crime rate in our country.

Council Appoints Sokol 27 Nov

LD2711113190 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] The Presidium of the Czech National Council appointed Dr. Tomas Sokol as the new Czech interior minister. It also heard, at its session today, a report on the elections to representative bodies in communities in the Czech Republic.

Czech Parliament Passes Law on Small Privatization

AU2011110990 Prague PRACE in Czech 16 Nov 90 p 2

["trg"-signed report: "Proceeds to the Ministry Instead of Communities; Small Privatization on the Agenda of the Seventh Meeting of the Czech National Council"]

[Excerpts] Prague—The agenda of yesterday's seventh meeting of the Czech National Council [CNR] was "impoverished" of several points that have been postponed until the next plenum. The meeting was therefore shortened from two days to only one day. All the more intensive was the attention which the deputies devoted to the discussion of the government-sponsored draft of the CNR law on the jurisdiction of Czech Republic bodies in the transfer of some state- owned assets to the ownership of physical or legal persons—i.e. in the so-called small privatization.

Explaining the draft, Tomas Jezek, Czech Republic minister for the administration and privatization of national property, said that it builds on the federal law on small privatization and incorporates changes proposed by CNR deputies. [passage omitted]

The most important change, compared with the original draft, concerns proceeds from the privatization process. Whereas according to the original draft of the law national committees were to receive 30 percent of the proceeds from the sale of businesses and the Czech Republic 70 percent, the CNR committees proposed that all net proceeds from sales be concentrated on a special account of the Czech Republic Ministry for the Administration and Privatization of National Property, funds from which could be drawn only after two years. The aim is to prevent inflationary pressure, which might arise if the money were put into circulation. [passage omitted] This most controversial article of the law was finally approved in the wording of the joint report of CNR committees and supplemented with an additional provision whereby the aforementioned funds will be used also to financially compensate persons with justified claims according to the law on alleviating the repercussions of some property wrongs. The draft was passed by 135 votes. [passage omitted]

At its meeting yesterday, the CNR Presidium accepted the resignation of Tomas Hradilek from the post of minister of interior of the Czech Republic and conveyed to him thanks for his work thus far.

Czech Policy Seen as Boost to Slovak Separatist

AU1911201190 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 16 Nov 90 p 3

[Igor Cibula commentary: "Prague Is Helping Separatists; Another Blow to the Supporters of Czech-Slovak Mutualism"]

[Text] The day before yesterday, the Prague newspaper LIDOVE NOVINY delivered yet another blow to the supporters of Czech-Slovak mutualism in Slovakia. Almost startling was the candor with which LIDOVE NOVINY admitted that many of them [Czechs] "felt the phony and hackneyed tone" of the slogan "The stronger the republics, the stronger the federation." The author of this statement does not claim that "questions of satisfying the ambitions of the republic are not important" yet he qualifies the disputes between Prague and Bratislava about powersharing as incredible and "incomprehensible to the normal world." Viewed against the background of the disputes of the last few days concerning a new shape of the federation, these formulations are not very encouraging if they really express the opinion of the majority of the Czech society.

Even more candid is another author in the same issue of LIDOVE NOVINY. Unlike the author of the preceding quotes, he does not extol Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa but targets his criticism on the prime ministers of the republican governments. In his opinion, the "Slovak

prime minster confuses his office with that of the president and, while he fires civil servants for their mistakes, he himself is staying on to be able to set his own mistakes right." A no less sarcastic comment is addressed to [Czech Prime Minister] Petr Pithart for his understanding approach to the needs of Slovaks. According to the author "the Czech prime minister is persuading us about the need for understanding in a situation when, ever since the parliamentary battles for the mutilation of Czechoslovakia's name, most Czechs have the impression that the next demand of the dominant Slovak political forces will be for parity representation in the Czech National Council."

It is by no means encouraging for the future of the common state of Czechs and Slovaks that such voices are characteristic of the Czech political environment. Even more dangerous is the fact, however, that these voices are dominant in LIDOVE NOVINY, a newspaper which is justly regarded as the daily of the Czech intellectual elite. The problem is not that this newspaper criticizes the authoritative and categorical tone of Vladimir Meciar or the ambiguous concepts of Jan Carnogursky; what is damaging for mutual Czech-Slovak relations is the angle of vision from which LIDOVE NOVINY chose to look at the so-called Slovak question.

Because several Prague observers of the Slovak political scene tend to use historical parallels from the years 1938-39, they should overcome [former President Edvard] Benes' one-sided interpretation of these events and return to an impartial analysis of the last two decades when the Czech side provided ample nutrition for the mycelium of Slovak separatism. It seems that—with a few exceptions such as Petr Pithart—the Prague political representation remains in the captivity of historical stereotypes and, by its approaches and conduct, orients the Czechoslovak state toward division, just like between the two world wars.

Slovak Leader Recalled From Assembly Presidium

LD2611122590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Deputies of the Federal Assembly's Chamber of Nations began a seperate session in Prague this morning. Jaroslav Skalicky reports from the session:

[Skalicky] In a secret ballot, the deputies of the Chamber of Nations recalled Deputy Vitazoslav Moric, chairman of the Slovak National Party, from the post of member of the federal Assembly Presidium. The proposal to recall him—put forward by a group of 76 deputies of the Federal Assembly elected in the Slovak Republic—was the only item on the agenda of the chamber's separate session. The reason for the proposal to recall him was based on Moric's behavior and statements at a protest rally on 25 October at the Slovak National Council building in Bratisalva in connection with the debate on the language bill when the Slovak National Council did not deal with the so-called Matica-proposed bill. Deputy Moric declared that members of his party would not feel bound by the decisions of the present Slovak parliament and would start protest activities, including civic disobedience, throughout the territory of the Slovak Republic.

Deputy Moric defended himself by saying there was no violence used at the protest rally and that he, himself, stopped all such attempts. He stressed the fact that demonstrations, rallies, and similar events are a normal manifestation of democracy and that it is necessary to view them as such.

During the debate, deputies expressed various views: On the one hand, they agreed with the view that Mr. Moric publicly called for the approved laws not to be observed and thus he has no right to hold the post of a member of the Presidium. On the other hand, they also expressed their dissatisfaction with the fact that recalling deputies from posts could become a usual practice. Some speeches made by deputies dealt with the broader issues of democracy and the policy of the Slovak National Party. A new member of the Presidium of the Federal Assembly for the Chamber of Nations will be elected at its next session.

At 1400 today joint ninth session of the Federal Assembly's Chamber of the People and the Chamber of Nations is to start here. We shall report on it in our next bulletins.

Meciar Addresses Slovak National Council Session

LD1911165890 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 19 Nov 90

[Report by reporters Magda Pospisilova and Michal Tvarozek on the session of the Slovak National Council in Bratislava on 19 November; report includes remarks by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar at the session—recorded]

[Text] The eighth session of the Slovak National Council—planned for 15 November and postponed until today—did start this morning. You may have heard our reports from the political debate and on deputies' interpellations, but if not, our reporters Magda Pospisilova and Michal Tvarozek are now ready to sum up the proceedings so far. What is going on there now?

[Pospisilova] We shall not be summing up now because a short while ago Slovak Prime Minister Meciar unexpectedly took the floor. Listen to him:

[Meciar, recorded in progress] ...Let us say openly if their plans for the general strike and other such things had been implemented then it would have been an attempt to break up the power of legally elected representatives, but not any kind of democracy—this is not democratic. You are asking here whether there is fascism or not.

This is not only the behavior now in connection with the 17 November anniversary. It was a fight between those from the (?human) movement who came to the square

outside the Slovak National Council to demonstrate other views; this is intolerance, lack of respect of people, and rude behavior.

If you listen to what is being said in the interests of nationalism, what is being said in the interest of the protection of the nation, and what this is leading to—to isolation, breaking up of this nation, for it not to be recognized by Europe. [sentence as heard]

The worse demagogists—the people who are hiding there now...[changes thought] then he who at yesterday's gathering stood at a platform saw a stone being thrown at him and could see that the stone is being thrown by a person who for years had been interogating him as a State Security officer—then who can we protect then, in the name of what?

I would put it like this: I do not think that the Slovak National Party is the bearer of all the evil, but I think that deputies representing this party in this National Council, in the parliament, have voiced support for this government. I am grateful to them and I am willling to cooperate with them—but with the leadership which is taking the nation toward a disaster I cannot cooperate and I shall not even take notice of it.

The moral feelings of Mr. Moric [Slovak National Party chairman], who is driving the nation into an uprising against the National Council, and in the parliament talks are on the way that he would not be a member of the Presidium and he laments: What has happened? [sentence as heard] Poor him, he has only signed something under pressure and he did not even know what he was doing. Who are these people? Markus on television—as a citizen he agrees with the Slovak National Council's decision, but as the chairman he does not—do tell me what people are we? We either have a certain system of values in us which governs our own behavior and that of everybody else and stand firm behind our word, or one should not set the whole nation into motion and then when it is set in motion he (?bemoans) and runs away from legal responsibility and consequences of his actions.

I do not want to talk too much about these issues but I ask you, do see Mr. Ivan [Jozef Ivan, deputy representing the Slovak National Party for Central Slovaia], when he spoke at that rally on the langauge bill—then behavior and speeches there reminded one of Mussolini far too much. [laughter] When Deputy Panis [deputy to Federal Assembly for Slovak National Party] shouts: Where is Meciar, let him come to lock me up! I say: Get lost, buddy! A warrant officer is enough to do that, you do not need a prime minister for this! [laughter and applause]

I ask you, do not present as democracy or nondemocracy that which has not been and is not democratic [words indistinct]. I shall identify in my solidarity with those from the Slovak National Party who have criticized their leadership because they were right, because in that party there are people who mean well for Slovakia and the nation and they should be differenciated from those—as I have called them in my television interview—who are false priests.

Let us separate the grain from the weeds; this will take us some time yet, but the separated grain when it is sown will mean a healthy harvest for Slovakia. Thank you ladies and gentlemen deputies! [applause]

[Pospisilova] Esteemed listeners, you have heard a somewhat unexpected address by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar in the political debate at the eighth session of the Slovak National Council [SNC].

[Tvarozek] I do not want to keep you too long but I would like to tell you what in fact is going on outside the Slovak National Council building. I went there a short while ago: There are about 100 people there and some have Slovak flags and slogans. I managed to read only one of them: "SNC, do look after your people!" The people on the whole are behaving calmly and in that short time I spent there I did not notice any incidents, that is not counting the deafening whistling and shouting which accompany the arrival of some prominent people as they enter the building. About a hour ago, Mr. Kusy stood outside the building to say something to the people but he was not given a chance to say anthing. On the other hand, a short while ago Slovak National Party Chairman Moric was welcomed by applause. In any case, the atmosphere is not as charged as it has been envisaged. I think that we can now hand over to the Radiojournal studio and we shall tell you in our next bulletin about the proceedings of the Slovak National Council session.

Meciar Comments on Session

LD1911224890 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 19 Nov 90

[News conference by Slovak Government Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar with domestic reporters at the Slovak National Council building in Bratislava on 19 November—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. President, members of the government were assessing today the draft of the so-called bill on the division of powers. How did it go down with them?

[Meciar] It was unanimously approved, without changes and amendments, as was agreed at the meeting of three prime ministers in Prague last week. These changes and amendments proceed from the fact that they constitute the limit of possible compromise and prevent a deep government or parliament crisis. What we are dealing with is that the standpoint we submit to the Slovak National Council represents the limit of what is possible and achievable without considerable social shocks. The questions which were either not on the agenda on Tuesday [13 November] or which were rejected, will be discussed again in the course of drafting a new constitution of the Slovak Republic, the Czech Republic, and the

federation. In this respect we are proposing a certain change which lies in a speedier adoption of republican constitutions. The government of the Slovak Republic will propose to the Czech Republic Government and to the Slovak and Czech National Councils that we should conclude a state treaty before we adopt a constitution of the federation and that we should at long last get rid of this burden, which is being constantly reiterated, that to this day there is no treaty between the two republics. Thus, the dispute about the nature of this federation should be definitively done away with, both in theoretical and practical terms.

[Reporter] Two weeks ago, after the first meeting of the three prime ministers in Prague, you said that your own expectations on power divisions have been fulfilled roughly by 90 percent. Further meetings, further agreements, and further compromises have materialized since. How then do you evaluate the issue of division of powers?

[Meciar] As an acceptable one in the case of the basic issue, the issue of Slovak Government ability to execute its powers in the Slovak Republic's territory, in all economic affairs, and in public administration. We, of course, had our own idea which was in keeping with the future constitutional set up. But this idea should mature both in political and social terms, and this is why it was opposed by the Federal Government. And I should say that if we made a certain compromise on Tuesday then this is neither a victory "or a defeat of any of the parties. This is a compromise, and we reached a compromise which does not impair the interests of the Slovak Republic, but makes it possible to tackle cooperation and all relations within this framework. In the months that lie ahead it is expected that the federal bodies will draw a demarcation line between the powers of the federation and the republics. This is conditional, however, upon adopting of this draft bill by the Federal Assembly. This will be the crucial point, and we shall then be able to see the real standpoint. After all, you know that the philosophy from which Mr. Calfa [federal prime minister] proceeded in his address enjoyed also Mr. President's [Havel] backing. It was also backed by the democratic right in the Federal Assembly, and this philosophy is a little different from our philosophy on dealing with this matter.

I think if we leave out the philosophical attitudes, legal theories—then on this basis we can agree on things. We shall do everything possible to brief deputies as soon as possible—all from Slovakia, all from Slovakia, and we envisage that Civic Forum would do the same for deputies in Bohemia. We should find a line for a sensible agreement in order that we could after 1 January devote our attention above all with the utmost urgency to economic and social issues which do not look good.

[Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, I have the following question (?was it discussed) at today's session: According to information available to us, the Slovak Republic interior minister was to be appointed on 11 November, and today is 19 November.

[Meciar] The Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] has put forward three candidates—one of them was in hospital. Then we had to wait for him to get home from the hospital to interview him, as he, above all, is being put forward now as the candidate. Talks of all three parties have been held, and participants have agreed with his nomination, and today I submitted this proposal to the Slovak National Council in order for him to be appointed now. Concerning the coalition partner, the KDH, the movement itself has proposed that the date of him appointment be postponed so that Mr. Deputy Prime Minister Carnogursky could be in change of work in progress in connection with the 17 November [anniversary].

[Reporter] I do not want to get involved in any details; however, I should like to return to Prague. Could you, with some examples, illustrate such points where we have reached those compromises—that is, where it has been necessary to adopt compromise solutions?

[Meciar] As those compromises represent several pages of text, I would propose the following to you: I have material drafted—the old text of the constitutional bill valid from 1968 with amendments carried by governments, by prime ministers, and changes which have been reached on Tuesday. Then you could in detail inform in the mass media on these changes, on their character and differences. These are changes which in every case ended with a compromise—that is, every side has made a certain compromise, thus every side can say that it has achieved and implemented something from its ideas at the same time. If I should list them all, then the time allocated here would run over.

[Reporter] I would like to ask you just one more specific question: Yesterday on television you said that you took away from President Bush one souvenir. Naturally, in order to turn it—the souvenir—into a more specific form, I think the attitude of the government and the question of power-sharing is important, for this not to be only an accidental visit, only a kind of a courtesy visit, but I think that from the side of the government, certain steps must be made. What in this respect does the Slovak Government intend to do in order for the relations between the Slovak and American economy to assume a more specific form?

[Meciar] Besides talks with President Bush—which we attended at the embassy—(?we arranged things such) that we can continue consultations further. A specific member of the U.S. delegation has been appointed, and dealt for two hours with Slovak problems, and he accepted specific proposals. He [Bush] will pay another visit to our country and many issues will be examined further. When the visit will take place—this is a question both of the time schedule of the President and the suitability of conditions in our country. We have quite

clearly stated, however, also at today's session of the government, that the method of the political life and activities of certain groups in Bratislava are unacceptable to us, first of all from the point of view of that which they are declaring, their views and intolerance, and also unacceptable because if they like it or not, if they pretend to be as democratic as they like—there already exist brown elements in their movement—this means fascist elements; one can call them that. The documents, Mussolini-style gestures, and such like exist too. It is interesting, however, that every manifestation of political unrest goes immediately through the whole Europe, or even through the whole world. In a situation when we are competing with all the states around us for foreign investments, which could help us to overcome the crisis, to recover as soon as possible, it is interesting that doubts are being cast internationally over, above all, Czechoslovakia and Slovakia.

The doubts have led immediately to a case, for example, where a delegation of Italian entrepreneurs which was to come did not come; when a delegation from Germany which did come said that, first of all we agreed on large sums, and then we were told that trade friendship needs a longer time for preparation, and we are getting signals from France, Great Britain—when everything which has been agreed is being halted or slowed down or being postponed, similarly in the United States. If we want to conclude specific agreements, we will have to prove that U.S. entrepreneurs will find a favorable climate here, both politicallly and from the point of view of enterprising. thus those who want to engage in the national salvation of Slovakia and are setting up various salvation organizations and so on, basically are stifling this country. They are not saving it, but harming it.

[Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, here is the last question. You have already indicated something, so I would still like to ask: Did you also evaluate at the government's session today the Saturday rally in the Slovak National Uprising Square? What is your view of it?

[Meciar] Two rallies were held there. A meeting of a few rowdies, who pretended that they had a right to make policy by standing closer to the cameras and microphones: they wished to create an image for the others that it is they who are in power. There was also a second group of people, who kept proving that their view of Slovakia is different. Aggressive and militant groups are probably already getting on people's nerves in Slovakia. Since this is what they dared on Saturday, we reached an agreement on the unavoidability of resuming the rule of law on Slovak Republic territory. The cases when people were attacked, for example, by stones or paper throwing, by spitting and so on, must be punished according to criminal law. The bodies active in fighting crime have started criminal proceedings against (?individual attackers). After all, each democracy must protect its rules of democratic life. If we permit other rules, then terror and violence would soon spread like a plague. The truth would rest with the one who has stronger fists and not with the one who protects the law and who executes his rights according to law. The government therefore supports the bodies combatting crime; it does not want them to be scared and to start their action in this matter.

As for the preceding question concerning the activity going on in front of Slovak National Council, the government has recommended that action be taken in this matter. Documentation has been collected and [passage indistinct].

[Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, allow me to ask one more question on power sharing. Your republican counterpart, Czech Prime Minister Pithart, said that he did not understand you—I mean, after the power sharing talks. Where lies the essence of Mr. Pithart's statement?

[Meciar] I talked with Mr. Pithart for several hours on Saturday, and I asked him to explain his stance. The result was that all the newspapers wrote that I had declared that the conclusions of Prague talks were a tragedy or something in this sense. [passage indistinct]

Carnogursky Interviewed on Power-Sharing Talks

AU2011094190 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 15 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Jan Carnogursky, first deputy Slovak prime minister, by F. Lauer; place and date not given: "Jan Carnogursky's Optimism; Slovak Representatives' Divergent Views on the Prague Talks"—first four paragraphs are ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY introduction]

[Text] According to the majority of participants in the Tuesday [13 November] meeting on the division of powers between the Federal Government and the republican governments, the meeting ended well. As Deputy Federal Prime Minister Pavel Rychetsky told us, it is now only up to the two republican governments, but also the two national councils, whether the draft amendment to the Constitutional Law on the Czechoslovak Federation [on which the meeting agreed] will be submitted to the Federal Assembly in time [for it to come into force on 1 January 1991], i.e. by 20 November.

All protagonists of the important talks were naturally in the center of journalists' attention throughout the day, particularly because the talks were held behind closed doors and lasted more than 10 hours. One of the few participants who was leaving with a certain skepticism was Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar. He not only did not lead the Slovak delegation, but, moreover, was dissatisfied with the extent of changes proposed by the Federal Government. As he said, these changes were not substantial and, what was worse in his opinion, they needlessly dramatized the situation. "The meeting produced nothing new and that is the greatest tragedy," he stressed in this context.

Asked about the outcome of the discussion of the draft amendment to the constitutional law in the Slovak National Council, V. Meciar declared that he is unable to predict it. It is possible that Meciar's statements were

also a reaction to the fact that Frantisek Miklosko, chairman of the Slovak National Council, acted as the main spokesman for the Slovak representation. As was confirmed to us by other participants in the talks, the main reason for this was that the Slovak government had already passed the draft amendment to the constitutional law to the Slovak National Council and, formally, the draft now belongs to the jurisdiction of the Slovak parliament.

Although V. Meciar tried to speak openly to us after the talks ended, the view of Jan Carnogursky, first deputy prime minister of the Slovak Republic, seemed to be more realistic in the given situation.

He told us, among other things: "We initialed the articles one by one and in every case we reached the best and most pragmatic solution from the viewpoint of all three governments." In contrast to the Slovak prime minister, Jan Carnogursky does not see any difficulties that could completely prevent the passing of the final draft in the Slovak National Council.

[Lauer] The Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] which you lead used to demand, among other things, a separate Slovak bank of issue.

[Carnogursky] This is true, but our movement does not have a thoroughly worked out stand on this issue to be able to make a specific proposal. As long as we do not have such a proposal worked out, this remains a long-term aim for us.

[Lauer] You, i.e. the KDH, also pursue the independence of Slovakia as a long-term aim, as you recently declared [at the KDH assembly] in Kosice.

[Carnogursky] What I said in Kosice, but also on earlier occasions, was that the status of Slovakia in the integrated Europe of the future as an entity with its own identity, and equal with other nations, remains a long-term aim for us. This point also features in the program of the Federal Government.

[Lauer] What time horizon do you foresee for this?

[Carnogursky] The point in time to which this applies would be the CSFR's entry into the EC. My idea is such that Slovakia should have its own representation in EC bodies. At the same time, however, it should have some joint bodies with the Czech Republic. This applies to specific common elements which unite us, the Czechs and the Slovaks.

[Lauer] Which bodies do you have in mind?

[Carnogursky] Some cultural bodies, for example.

[Lauer] What about foreign policy?

[Carnogursky] I can speak about this only on a very abstract plane at present because, by the time Czechoslovakia joins the EC, the EC will already have some kind of a common foreign policy. It is clear that Slovakia will be integrated within this foreign policy framework.

[Lauer] How do you see the future of the coalition with the Public Against Violence movement [VPN]? Is the KDH not under certain pressure?

[Carnogursky] If you mean pressure from the VPN, I would not say so. We are under different pressures, pressures which do not benefit the functioning of the coalition.

[Lauer] Are you thinking of situations such as [occurred last weekend at Modra] when the VPN leadership meets with the prime ministers without its coalition partners?

[Carnogursky] Not so much. I do not mind that so much. I am thinking, rather, of the situation around Minister of Interior Andras.

[Lauer] What is your view of this situation?

[Carnogursky] I still think that Minister Andras did his job competently. We did not want the crisis to come to a head, which is why we settled for a compromise in the final phase. I would like to say that some witnesses of 1948 recall how prior to [the communist takeover in] February communists used to accuse noncommunist ministers of incompetence. I instructed our department to ferret out the old newspapers and find these articles.

Carnogursky on Post-Nov Process Disenchantment

AU2111093790 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 17 Nov 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Jan Carnogursky, Slovak first deputy prime minister and chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement, by Andrej Javorsky; in Bratislava on 16 November: "A Coalition Until the End of the Electoral Period"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Javorsky] You are the Christian Democratic Movement's [KDH] supreme representative. One of this movement's fundamental philosophies is a feeling of love for those around us as well as forbearance, tolerance, and nonviolence. In essence, these philosophies are identical to the slogans from the November Revolution and to the slogans of the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement. How do you view the implementation of these ideas from 17 November 1989 to the present?

[Carnogursky] A very important issue in the ensuing period was our attitude toward the representatives and supporters of the former regime. It was necessary to proceed with great sensitivity here. This means that, on the one hand, it was essential to change the cadres, but, on the other hand, that it was necessary not to permit a transition toward revenge where cadres were changed foolishly regardless of an individual's specialist qualifications. To put it simply, it was necessary to divide the mechanical criteria for changing cadres from the factual

criteria with strong emphasis being placed on morality and the moral consideration of people's previous activity.

[Javorsky] Can you, however, explain why today people feel, if not disillusioned, then—to a certain extent—disappointed with the entire post-November process. For example, this is apparent from the survey in yesterday's SLOVENSKY DENNIK [Slovak Journal] and from other materials published in the press. To what, then, do you attribute this shift and this decline in enthusiasm when the same people who a year ago were sincerely chanting "This is it!" are today saying that this is not it?

[Carnogursky] People's current feelings have two dimensions. The first one is that there is always a difference between ideals and reality and between theory and practice. Last November our entire future development was only an ideal, it was a theory in people's minds. Today it is, for the most part, practice and practice is always worse than ideals. The second dimension to this problem is, obviously, that our governments did not really have a sufficiently clear idea about what they wanted to do to achieve this ideal, especially in the economic sphere. They did not have sufficient decisiveness to do what they wanted to do and, therefore, the transformation of our social life is, perhaps, proceeding hesitantly. To date, there is no such ideologically coherent idea prevalent in society as the one which existed prior to November on the basis of an ideologically coherent structure for our social, political, and economic life—although, at that time, the structure of ideological coherence was perverted.

[Javorsky] What would you like to impart to your fellow citizens—who in, obviously, smaller numbers will assemble in the squares—since we are commemorating the first anniversary of 17 November?

[Carnogursky] I would like to tell them that the old system could no longer continue because it did not have the internal strength to carry on, regardless of whether or not 17 November had happened. It was only a question of time and method. The old system could not have continued, because today it would no longer have any international support and basis. The Soviet Union would not have supported our old regime and it would not have sold us cheaper oil even if Jakes or any other communist potentate was in power. This new development—although in many respects it may be a disappointment to the people who came to the squares last year—does, nevertheless, conceal within itself possibilities for people's constant self-improvement and for liberating their initiative and activities.

[Javorsky] We are living through a very tense and, so to speak, extreme period. In Slovakia we have a coalition government of the VPN, the KDH, and the Democratic Party. How do you personally view this coalition's coexistence?

[Carnogursky] The coalition developed on the basis of the voters' decision, but also on the basis of the specific affinity of its three members' programs. For these reasons, it is necessary for the coalition to continue until the end of the electoral period. By saying this, I do not want to pretend that this is a problem-free coexistence.

[Javorsky] Thank you for the interview.

Two New Liberal Slovak Groups Introduced

AU2011202190

[Editorial Report] Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak on 16 November publishes items introducing two new Slovak political groups—the Human Movement [hnutie Human] and the Initiative in Defense of Democracy [Iniciativa na obranu demokracie].

On 16 November, on pages 1 and 2, VEREJNOST publishes an 800-word interview with Tomas Zalesak, Peter Marianek, and Jarmila Belesova, "representatives" of the Human movement, by VEREJNOST reporter Lubos Kriz. The interview was conducted in the VEREJNOST editorial office in Bratislava, its date is not given.

Speaking about their movement, the Human representatives say that its aim is to "put up active resistance" to "brute force and intolerance" before it is too late. The movement was set up in February this year when "fascist grafitti such as 'Gypsies to the ghetto!,' 'Jews to gas chambers!' began to appear in the streets of Bratislava." The first event organized by Human was the repainting of such grafitti in one Bratislava square.

Asked about the program of Human, they reply that "essentially there is none, except taking action against everything defying humanity, decency, and tolerance. None of us has any power ambitions."

In the VEREJNOST interview, the Human representatives also discuss their experience with demonstrations organized by Slovak nationalist forces. One of them says that they have been photographed by participants in these demonstrations and threatened with "being hanged once there is a Slovak state." Another reports that they are being denounced as "Jewish bolsheviks," "secret policemen," "Judases," or "Hungarians." He characterizes the conduct of the demonstrators as "very similar to the behavior of fascistic elements [before the secession of Slovakia] in 1938."

On the same day, on page 3, VEREJNOST publishes the 2,800-word "First Statement by the Initiative in the Defense of Democracy." The statement, which is formulated as an appeal to Slovakia's "silent majority," is signed by the following 11 people—Daniel Butora, Milos Durec, Boris Grexa, Lubos Gelo, Dino Hochel, Stano Jendek, Olga Kelleova, Miro Kuska, Tina Matulova, Milan Nic, and Michaela Stefankovicova. The statement warns the "silent majority" of Slovaks against attempts at destabilization organized by nationalist forces and

calls for their resistance to these attempts in the interest of the preservation of democracy in Slovakia.

The bulk of the statement consists of a detailed analysis of the Slovak nationalist forces' attempts to provoke an "atmosphere of confrontation" in Slovakia and eliminate the democratically elected Slovak institutions. It discusses, among other things, the nationalists' campaign to prevent the election of Vaclav Havel as president of the republic; their attempts to exploit the debates about the name of the republic earlier this year for "demagogy, nationalistic passions, jeopardizing the Czechoslovak statehood"; their endeavor to involve the Slovak National Heritage Foundation in the promotion of their political aims; various nationalistic declarations made on the occasion of the Trencianske Teplice meeting of the three governments and various Slovak historical anniversaries (Hlinka, Stur); as well as the recent campaign against the Slovak language law passed by the Slovak parliament. The statement warns that these attempts at "confrontation," "destabilization," and "defiance of basic democratic principles" will continue and expects the 17 November anniversary rally, the parliamentary discussion of the laws on power-sharing between the federation and the republics, the discussion of the law on the Slovak National Heritage Foundation, and the work on the Slovak Constitution to be used as the next occasions for confrontation.

In conclusion the statement says: "It seems to us that the silent majority, for which a struggle is underway between those who respect basic democratic principles and those who defy them, does not realize the risks of the present situation. The aim of our text is to address the Slovak public and draw its attention to these risks. The preservation of democracy in Slovakia is in the hands of all of us."

Slovak Minister Views Current Economic Problems

AU2011204890 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 16 Nov 90 p 3

[Interview with Rudolf Filkus, Slovak Republic minister for economic strategy, by Marta Moricova; place and date not given: "The Government Must Protect Citizens"]

[Text] Our economy is influenced by various factors—by domestic factors, which reflect the changes in the administration, as well as by international factors. This is why we met with Rudolf Filkus, Slovak Republic minister for economic strategy, for a talk about the activity and tasks of the crisis staff.

[Moricova] Attentive citizens have certainly noticed that the crude oil crisis was solved by the crisis staff. The opinion prevails, however, that such solutions are to the detriment of the citizens and that the staff's activity is concentrated only on increasing the prices.

[Filkus] There really was a crisis staff established at the Federal Government level, whose task was to solve the situation that arose due to the crude oil shortage. At the rate of 24 korunas to a dollar, we worked out the so-called "devaluation" alternative which anticipated that we would be able to receive 13 million tonnes of crude oil. An "emergency" alternative anticipated 11 million tonnes of crude oil and a "catastrophic" alternative anticipated 7 million tonnes. We also worked out similar alternatives for natural gas and electric power.

[Moricova] Various economic problems have become acute in Slovakia. What is the government's reaction to them?

[Filkus] In Slovakia the crisis staff has also been established. It will operate at the Council for the Management of Economy, which is headed by Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Ondurs. Our ministry has prepared documents in which it points out possible dangers—for example, high unemployment which represents more than half of the total unemployment in the CSFR. As of 30 September we registered 19,353 job applicants. For a comparison, in the Czech Republic there are 24,579 job applicants. Another crisis area is agriculture. Bad crops in the West Slovakia region means that Slovakia is 700,000 tonnes of wheat short. If we do not supply it, we will have to decrease the number of slaughter animals by as much as 63 percent. West Slovakia has always been the main wheat supplier in our republic. It is only natural that we are making efforts to acquire wheat from the federal reserves. We have been unofficially promised some 600,000 tonnes, but part of it will have to be paid by farmers.

[Moricova] The liberalization of prices is a very frequently discussed subject. Liberalization of prices, in fact, always means higher prices. How will consumers be protected against it?

[Filkus] The liberalization of prices is inevitable. In my opinion it should start sooner than 1 January. It is understandable that if we have made the first step, that is, devaluation, then we cannot let all the enterprises that are dependent on imports go bankrupt. That is, we have to allow the liberalization of prices where imports are necessary, yet we have to prevent catastrophic impacts that it might have on consumers. The manufacturer will not be allowed to sell for a higher price than the price he paid for imports. This simply means that we must not permit liberalization of prices in such a way as to ruin consumers.

[Moricova] Individual steps of the reform have a certain time schedule....

[Filkus] Today it has become apparent that it is impossible to devaluate, demonopolize, privatize, and, at the same time, to curb the liberalization of prices. We have to do all this simultaneously while providing measures for the protection of the market, and these measures must not be of an economic nature only. Let us have a look, for example, at the "buy-outs." Austrians adopted tough measures and stopped issuing visas to Polish people. We, so it seems, are behind the times.

[Moricova] Devaluation continues and people feel helpless.

[Filkus] We cannot introduce another devaluation since it would mean a catastrophe, at least in Slovakia. We have a great number of enterprises that are dependent on imports, be it fuel, energy, or raw material and, in addition to that, we are more oriented toward exports to Eastern Europe. It has become apparent today that we cannot introduce devaluation without introducing countermeasures. The scenario for economic reforms also speaks about them, but they were not implemented in time. With respect to individual consumers, we have not given enough consideration to creating a curbing mechanism. In the situation like this, when the market does not function properly, we must also implement administrative measures, such as customs, restriction on exports, and we also must determine who will have to supply the domestic market, and how much.

[Moricova] We have forgotten that in a situation in which demand is greater than supply and when the market and its mechanisms do not work yet, the government must protect the citizens. This is why, in a crisis situation like this, short term administrative measures must be implemented. We cannot eliminate the sources of crisis, yet me must curb their impact.

Klaus' Lack of Success in Moscow Viewed

AU2011123790 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 17 Nov 90 p 3

[Jiri Doubrava commentary: "Klaus Speaks Russian, but...."]

[Text] Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus ended his two-day visit to Moscow yesterday. As he stated at a news conference held in the Soviet capital with Czechoslovak and Soviet journalists, he was also there as a representative of the main political force in Czechoslovakia, the Civic Forum [OF]. Therefore, he met—for example—with V. Falin, a CPSU Central Committee secretary.

At yesterday's news conference, Vaclav Klaus demonstrated that he has more than a schoolboy's knowledge of Russian. So far, Alexander Dubcek—who attended, as we know, an elementary school in the USSR—is the only one of our contemporary politicians who has ventured to conduct a news conference in Russian.

Nevertheless, despite his extremely thorough knowledge of the Russian language, Minister Klaus did not reach an agreement in Moscow. To be more precise, he reached an agreement on roughly one-fifth of the problems (albeit the most important ones) which currently present an obstacle to the normal development of future financial relations between our countries.

He managed to reach an agreement on payments for next year. Without it, it would be impossible to proceed further in the new year when business will be conducted in freely convertible currencies. Enterprises in the Soviet Union will not have access, not even limited access, to foreign currency. Therefore, the beginning of the conversion to trading in normal prices and in normal money will be a provisional arrangement where an important role will be played by the so-called indicative lists of goods.

What he did not achieve, among other things, was an agreement on the future of joint projects, on the methods of paying for the Soviet forces' presence in the CSFR, and—in particular—on finding a way out of the divergent views pertaining to the recalculation coefficient for our assets in the USSR.

This means in a more comprehensible language that the Soviet Union now owes us roughly 4 billion rubles, part of which is blocked until 1995 on the basis of an agreement between the previous governments. Now it is necessary to recalculate this sum in dollars. Experts from both countries have been trying to do this for several months, but to no avail.

In reply to a question from a MLADA FRONTA DNES reporter on what will happen if no agreement is reached, Minister Klaus said that we have to reach an agreement. He refused to discuss the details, but he is relying on negotiations between experts. He sees this not only as a financial matter, but also as a political one.

When replying to a question from a Soviet journalist on whether it is true that oil supplies have been reduced more for some East European countries than they have for Czechoslovakia, Vaclav Klaus outlined the differences between these countries. Czechoslovakia is fulfilling its undertakings resulting from agreements; the oil which the Soviet Union owes Czechoslovakia has long been paid for. Therefore, the solution that—for example—oil supplies should be reduced equally for everyone does not come into consideration. In this connection, V. Klaus discounted the possibility that Czechoslovakia could "exchange" its assets in the USSR for the assets which the Soviet Union has in other countries (it may be gathered that this issue was raised during the talks).

In his role as OF chairman, V. Klaus outlined current development in Czechoslovakia to Soviet journalists. He declared that in time the OF will change into a political party. In reply to a question from TASS on how the next elections will turn out, he stated that for him personally this is all pie in the sky as he is now mainly interested in 1 January when the complete liberalization of prices will take place.

Following the news conference, Minister Klaus—in the midst of a crowd of journalists—appraised an article published in our daily on Thursday [15 November] which discussed his arrival in Moscow. He praised the article for grasping best of all the essence of the mutual problems.

Let us add, of course, that this article was not true. In it we wrote that the smile would freeze on Klaus' lips in Moscow. This did not happen. Our minister was smiling in Moscow, although most of the knot of problems is now waiting to be disentangled.

Havel Attends U.S.-Sponsored Institute Opening

LD2711034290 Prague CTK in English 2004 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 26 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel today ceremonially opened the European Studies Centre, a research group of the New York-based Institute for East-West Security Studies.

Havel noted that this international institution, the first of this kind in Czechoslovakia, will also serve other states of the region.

The establishment of the European Studies Centre documents that the United States is interested in developments in Europe and that Western Europe is interested in Central and East European developments.

At this afternoon's seminar called "Revolutions 1989—a Year After", held at the European Studies Centre at Stirin, Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky pointed out two extreme approaches to the issue of Western assistance to East European countries—that of Hungary which, in his opinion, opened itself too much to advanced Europe, and on the other hand, the attitude of Soviet Academician Aleksey Bogomolov who thinks that Western aid would only conserve the present structures.

Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko stated that the Ukraine intends to pass over to market economy but in line with its own ideas.

U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Claiborne Pell voiced concern about the possible disintegration of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, adding that a big problem was also the imminent emigration of Soviet citizens (about 6 million people allegedly to leave the country).

Havel Meets Austria's Vranitzky on Power Plants

LD2111160890 Prague CTK in English 1253 GMT 21 Nov 90

[Text] Paris Nov 21 (CTK reporter)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky met here today for a discussion which was dominated mostly by economic matters.

According to Havel's spokesman Michael Zantovsky, the chancellor believes that many of Austria's post-war experiences could be useful to Czechoslovakia in its transition to a market economy. He said that some measures that are not of a market character may pay on this road.

Havel mentioned offences made by Czechoslovak tourists in Austria. Vranitzky described them as unimportant but he spoke about fears of Austrians from Czechoslovak nuclear power plants. He thanked Czechoslovakia for enabling Austrian experts to visit the plant at Jaslovske Bohunice in West Slovakia and other nuclear facilities.

The two leaders discussed the Polish request to participate in the work of the Pentagonal group (including also Hungary, Italy and Yugoslavia). The Austrian chancellor said that geographic closeness does not always means political closeness but he welcomed Poland's application.

Gabcikovo-Nagymaros, the controversial Czechoslovak-Hungarian project on the Danube in which Austria has also been involved, was not mentioned during the almost one-hour discussion, according to Zantovsky.

Havel invited the Austrian chancellor to visit Czechoslovakia.

Havel Receives French Peace Prize 26 Nov

LD2711053490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] President Vaclav Havel at Prague Castle today received the Louise Weiss Prize from chairman of the foundation, which is named after this significant French journalist known for her friendly relations with Czechoslovakia. This prize is awarded annually to someone who contributes to peace and the improvement of human relations.

CSFR Will Not Follow 'Finnish Way' in Economy

LD1911222290 Prague CTK in English 1934 GMT 19 Nov 90

[Text] Paris Nov 19 (CTK reporter)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel who met here today his Finnish counterpart Mauno Koivisto for talks on mutual relations said that Czechoslovakia does not intend to follow the Finnish way in the economy, presidential spokesman Michael Zantovsky has told CTK.

The country can, however, make use of much of the Finnish experience especially in the environmental protection, Havel who takes part in the CSCE summit here said.

As both countries border on the USSR, the two officials also discussed a possible influx of emigrants from the country. Koivisto said in case of difficulties Finland could provide food supplies.

Zantovsky added that Havel might visit Finland. He want on to say that the Czechoslovak president is to meet his Soviet counterpart Mikhail Gorbachev tomorrow afternoon.

Defense Minister Favors Warsaw Pact's Dissolution

AU2611184690 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 22 Nov 90 p 8

[CTK report: "The Future Lies With NATO"]

[Text] At yesterday's press briefing in Prague, Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky aired his views on the Hungarian proposal for the dissolution of the military part of the Warsaw Pact next spring. In reply to a CTK question, he stated: "I will not tell you how the whole of Czechoslovakia will react; however, I will react positively." He appraised the positive significance of NATO as a military and political organism capable of guaranteeing a security equilibrium in Europe.

Economic Official on Joint Soviet Relations

AU2611165790 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 21 Nov 90 p 9

[Interview with Lajos Berenyi, deputy state secretary at the Ministry for International Economic Relations, by Sara Pogany; place and date not given: "Agreement in December?"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Excerpts] The changes taking place in the Soviet Union make it necessary for Hungarian-Soviet cooperation to develop not only on a central and enterprise level, but also between Hungary and the Soviet republics. Hungary's aim is to establish official economic links with all the 15 republics. Our most important partners could be Russia and the Ukraine—which account for an estimated 90 percent of Hungarian-Soviet trade—as well as Belorussia. We asked Lajos Berenyi about the development of Hungarian-Soviet economic relations.

[Pogany] How are Hungary's trade relations with the Soviet Union developing this year?

[Berenyi] According to our data so far, our imports have dropped by 15-20 percent and our exports have dropped by 25-30 percent. The period when we convert into dollar accounts will probably also be marked by a temporary decrease, and the situation should only be stabilized in two or three years.

[Pogany] Negotiations have begun. When can we expect an agreement?

[Berenyi] We will probably sign a trade agreement with the federal government in December; our trade agreement will be in accordance with GATT regulations. We also intend to sign treaties on economic cooperation with the Russian Federation and the Ukraine this year. These agreements basically serve as a framework. Beyond these agreements, the enterprises themselves have to back up the informative price lists—or the shipment of goods contained in these lists—with their own contracts. Our enterprises will be in competition, because the economic organizations of other former socialist countries will also be on the Soviet market, not to mention enterprises from developed industrialized countries. It is particularly important to devote a great deal of attention to price negotiations; however, the conversion into dollar accounts does not at all imply that the price of component parts will increase five-fold, for example. Prices will be determined on the basis of international market prices, following serious bargaining. [passage omitted]

[Pogany] You mentioned that our enterprises would have to expect severe competition to maintain—or even improve—their position on the Soviet market. How could we best represent our interests?

[Berenyi] Taking into account the aspirations for independence of the Soviet republics, oblasts, and districts, in the second half of 1989, the Hungarian Trade Representation in Moscow initiated intensive measures to establish relations and set up market and business opportunities with the Soviet regional state bodies and economic organizations. During the course of 1989, we established affiliated branches to consolidate and coordinate cooperation in Kiev (for the Ukrainian and Moldovan republics,) Tbilisi (for the Georgian, Armenian, and Azeri Republics,) and in Leningrad (for the oblast itself, as well as for the three Baltic republics.) Company offices operate within the framework of all these branches. In Moscow, almost 100 companies are represented; there are 14 companies in Kiev; there are three companies in Leningrad; and one company is represented in Tblisi. Consequently, apart from our existing pan-Soviet relations, we have established relations which should allow for direct, regular business opportunities with concerns and associations which comprise industrial and agricultural factories in some 100 regions of the Soviet Union (in 14 federated republics, in 15 autonomous republics, in 69 oblasts, and in 13 areas.) In two or three years, we can expect to see the development of an independent representation system in the republics. The current initial representational step seems to be possible through Hungary's trade representation in Moscow and through its affiliated branches. [passage omitted]

Industry, Trade Minister Views Soviet Relations

LD2611115690 Budapest MTI in English 1022 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, November 25 (MTI)—We would like to maintain the impetus the Gorbachev-Antall meeting lent to the development of Hungarian-Soviet economic cooperation, Minister of Industry and Trade Peter Akos Bod told MTI before his departure to Moscow on Sunday.

Bod said he was heading an economic delegation to the Soviet Union to get a clear picture of which Soviet organizations are in charge of what, and with whom Hungary can agree on what. There are plenty of business opportunities in the Soviet Union but their exploration has been prevented over the past few months by lack of information about the scope of the various ministries, Bod said. The minister added that the forms of payment would have to be clarified as well.

The most important goods are distributed by the central ministries so Hungary has partners in this field. However, the quantities the ministries offered, first of all oil and electricity, are insufficient. The so-called indicative list containing the centrally offered deliveries features only 1 million tonnes of crude oil while Hungary would require four or five times as much. The Soviet offer of electricity supply also lags way behind the demand and its unfavorable timing and high prices pose additional difficulties, Bod said.

Before his departure, the minister held a brief consultation with Ivan Aboimov, Soviet ambassador to Hungary. On this score, Peter Akos Bod said:

The consultation focussed on mutual concessions, a new form of bilateral cooperation. There are some unexplored or unexploited oil fields in the Soviet Union. Foreign entrepreneurs, such as Hungary's National Oil and Gas Trust, may be given a chance to produce oil on these areas and retain a part of output, Bod said. The Soviet side showed keen interest in Hungary's oil fields which could be exploited with the Soviet technology of "horizontal drilling." The idea of cooperation in third markets was also raised, Bod said.

For the concessions to help the two countries' economies, the legal (?conditions) [words indistinct] to be clarified. Since neither the Hungarian nor the Soviet parliament has so far enacted a concessions law, this kind of cooperation cannot start before the middle of next year. With mutual interest given, concessions are expected to enrich Hungarian-Soviet economic cooperation, the minister of industry and trade said.

Failure of Joint Romanian Talks Analyzed

AU2611140690 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 21 Nov 90 p 5

[Csilla Medgyesi editorial: "Tough"]

[Text] It so happened that a particularly fine language has developed, one that carefully formulates even the smallest details; this is the diplomatic language. A word or expression often means something else when uttered by a diplomat—not only in Hungary, but everywhere in the world—and not only because of the long misinterpreted alliance and internationalism in connection with "friendly and brotherly" neighboring countries.

Expressions are changing in our world; this is particularly true of the Central-Eastern European area today. Problems which have long been swept under the carpet are now expressed more openly, and let us admit it, sometimes even in an unnecessarily tough and offensive manner. Particularly rude formulations are emerging nowadays in connection with the reemergence of an old evil in our region: nationalism. An even bigger problem is that sometimes people confuse chauvinism—something that is regularly condemned all over the world—with the basic principle according to which every national minority has individual and collective rights of preserving its national identity and culture, an internationally required basic principle.

One could come up with a unending list of examples; let us take the latest. The Hungarian Foreign Ministry issued a statement on 19 November about Deputy State Secretary Imre Szokai's recent talks in Bucharest about the problems in solving Hungarian-Romanian relations. This step in itself is less unusual; unfortunately, the verbal duels that reach the press will soon become natural in our bilateral relations. What is slightly unusual, from the Hungarian side, is that the circumstances prompted Foreign Ministry Spokesman Janos Herman to use a tougher tone.

In his radio interview summing up the talks, Romanian Foreign Ministry State Secretary Romulus Neagu succinctly said that, in fact, he did not understand what Imre Szokai wanted in Bucharest when the inexplicable "inflexibility" and "last moment conditions" of the Hungarian side made the talks falter. One cannot leave such declarations without comment.

We could even say that the basic thought of the aforementioned statement issued by the Hungarian Foreign Ministry—namely that the "Hungarian Foreign Ministry has been, and is making great efforts to discover the possibilities of settling the Hungarian- Romanian relations"—is a stereotype, if a whole series of concrete steps and proposals did not prove that we seriously mean what we say. Although this was no merit, but a basic human responsibility, Hungary was the first country to help the Romanian revolution in December 1989 after accepting tens of thousands of Romanian citizens who were fleeing the Ceausescu dictatorship, in spite of our difficult economic situation. We did that on the basis of our voluntarily accepted responsibilities and humanitarian principles, rather than in the hope of some financial aid in U.S. dollars, of which Bucharest is accusing us today. We hoped—of course we hoped—that, not out of "gratitude", but adhering to its principles declared as democratic, the new Romanian society would treat its national minorities—and not only the Hungarians!—differently from the Ceausescu era. The claim that Romania is striving to enter Europe, where an international convention guarantees the fundamental human rights, including the inalienable rights of national minorities, seemed to support this hope. In Europe, the following argument is not an answer: The national minority issue is not an interstate issue, but the internal affair of each individual country. Furthermore—Romanian President Iliescu says as a final argument—"he would be glad to see Hungary guarantee the same rights to its national minorities, as Romania guarantees for its national minority." (Its minority—just like that, in singular.) Nor is it an answer to Europe that the refugee issue as such, does not even exist for Romania; therefore, it is useless to talk about it. Bucharest claims all this in spite of the fact that, hardly 50 days ago, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe called upon the Romanian Government to create democratic domestic conditions which would make it possible for Romanian citizens to refrain from leaving their country in masses.

Europe, therefore, is aware of a Romanian refugee issue, and so are we; we see and feel it daily. Europe would do something for them, and so would we. Among other things, Hungarian President Arpad Goncz would be ready to meet with Ion Iliescu in the benefit of these refugees, and Goncz would like to meet Iliescu in Temesvar [Timisoara], a town where Romanians, Hungarians, Germans, and other nationalities have been living together for centuries. That is why our president sent Imre Szokai with a draft document which we could adopt within a month, by considering the interests of both sides, within the boundaries of rational—but not

unprincipled—compromises. The answer was no, even while the Romanian president was there among the 34 statesmen in Paris.

Foreign Ministry on Upcoming EC Talks

LD2611210290 Budapest MTI in English 1715 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, November 26 (MTI)—The Budapest mission of the European Communities will be opened by Francs Andriessen, vice president of the Commission of the European Communities on November 29, the spokesman of the Foreign Ministry, Janos Herman announced.

Andriessen will meet Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian parliament as well.

Visa requirements will probably be scrapped between Hungary and Greece as of January 1, 1991, the spokesman said at a press briefing on Monday. Such was the agreement following the talks held by Deputy State Secretary for Foreign Affairs Imre Szokai in Athens on November 23.

According to Greek officials, the Greek foreign minister will visit Budapest early next year.

Reports that the prime minister of the Czech and Slovak Republic, Marian Calfa, is to visit Budapest on December 3, were neither denied, nor confirmed by the spokesman. It was however confirmed that Slovak premier, Vladimir Meciar, and president of the Slovak National Council, Frantisek Miklosko, are expected in Budapest on December 15.

No date has yet been set for the Hungarian-Czech-Slovak-Polish summit the spokesman said. It is however know that it will take place in Visegrad (nw Hungary). According to Deputy State Secretary David Meiszter, the participants of this summit are not keen on dealing with military, defence or security issues, preferring to concentrate on problems affecting all three countries, namely, environment protection, transport, traffic, and the construction of a north-south motorway and railway line.

Prime Minister Jozsef Antall supported Poland's endeavours to join the Pentagonale, David Meiszter said, adding that this did not necessarily imply Poland's membership, being more simply an opportunity for Poland to participate in the discussion of any and every issue.

In the view of the Hungarian Government, the entire Warsaw Treaty, and not just its military organization, is a political dinosaur, which has now outlived its usefulness.

Hungary will leave the military organization of the Warsaw Treaty by the end of 1991. Meanwhile the future of the political organization was the subject of constant discussion amongst the member states, David Meiszter said.

He added, that the Hungary Government considered it unnecessary to maintain the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty, being tentatively more in favour of a "loose consultative forum," without an organizational character and the obligation to sign agreements.

Meiszter laid out NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner's view, concerning the guarantees for Hungary's security after the abolution of the Warsaw Treaty. (Woerner held talks in Hungary between November 22 and 25.)

According to Woerner, Hungary should not be afraid of a "security vacuum," either now or in the future, because it is already a participant in the European security system of 34 countries and the security policy of 22. Hungary's talks on associated membership with the European communities and EFTA [European Free Trade Assocation] bear this out, as does the fact that it is already a member of the Council of Europe. Its good relations with most of the Western european countries mean that it is effectively protected against any potential enemies.

Speaking of the Paris summit, Meiszter said that the participants had become aware of the grave difficulties afflicting the East European region, and realized that if help was not given by the West, a "welfare wall" would come to replace to old Iron Curtain.

Energy problems were described as the gravest of all. Thus Belgium's suggestion that the 34 countries create a European energy charter, laying down ways of modernizing energy sources and systems, was welcomed.

Foreign Trade Statistics Published

AU2611120490 Budapest MTI in English 1334 GMT 22 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, 22 Nov (MTI)—The 10-per-cent depreciation of the US currency against the DM [Deutsche mark] and a smaller devaluation against the yen this year is not having that much of an effect on Hungary's debt service, because only 48-50 per cent of Hungary's export incomes are now paid in dollars, as against around 60 per cent in the mid-1980s.

About 90 per cent of Hungary's external debt is in three currencies: 28 per cent in USD [U.S. dollars], 28 per cent in yen, and 30-32 per cent in DM, Mr Frigyes Harshegyi, vice-president of the National Bank of Hungary (NBH), said in a statement to MTI today.

Thirty per cent of Hungary,s hard-currency export incomes are paid in strong DM. An unfavourable point, however, is that the country has no yen incomes. This means that in order to service its yen debts, the NBH has to buy Japanese currency for weak dollars, he added.

As a consequence of the weakening of the US currency, Hungary's gross debts, in dollar terms, have risen by about 400 million USD to 21 billion USD since January.

Mr Harshegyi said that as a result of a 900-million-USD hard-currency trade surplus and a tourism surplus in the first ten months, the liquid reserves of the National Bank of Hungary have risen to 1.15 billion USD from 800-900 million USD.

Hungary's hard-currency tourism surplus was 280 million USD in the first nine months of 1990.

According to the latest official figures of the National Bank of Hungary, as at the end of August, international reserves in convertible currencies of the NBH stood at 952.3 million USD, while gold reserves amounted to 104.1 million USD, valued at 320 USD per ounce.

The country's current account showed a surplus of 350 million USD at the end of September, and Mr Harshegyi expects it to remain in the black by the end of the year: the forecast at the beginning of this year was that the current account would show a deficit of 400 million USD.

Mr Harshegyi stressed the country's current account performance was a very good achievement considering the half-a-billion or so USD loss the country suffered as a consequence of this summer's drought and rising oil prices.

Pozsgay on Loss of Confidence, Political Realities

AU2111091290 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 17 Nov 90 p 8

[Interview with Imre Pozsgay by FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG reporter Georg Paul Hefty and MAGYAR NEMZET reporter Laszlo Nagy Csaszar; place and date not given: "I Have No Tactical Sense in Asserting Myself—Imre Pozsgay on Loss of Confidence, Political Traps, and a Seventh Faction"; first paragraph is MAGYAR NEMZET introduction]

[Excerpts] The Pozsgay affair continues to make waves. Various explanations and speculations have emerged on the background of Pozsgay's recent decision [to leave the party]. The fact that many people are not satisfied with the justification provided by Imre Pozsgay in his letter addressed to the Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] also reflects this. Over the course of this week, Imre Pozsgay gave an interview to FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG and MAGYAR NEMZET.

[Csaszar] Mr. Pozsgay, perhaps you remember my question during an interview at the beginning of this year: Are you prepared for the possibility of being forced into emigration by your political opponents? Is this now the period of internal emigration?

[Pozsgay] No, this is a period of evaluation and thinking.

[Hefty] Western public opinion is also interested in your decision, but your long letter does not clearly define your goals.

[Pozsgay] My major goal was to become independent for some time and to rethink my tasks by comparing Hungary's situation with my own. In my letter, I openly wrote that I did not see my place in the MSZP. At the same time, I consider the timing of my decision to be important. I could not take this step when Hungary was in the midst of an election campaign, because I wanted to avoid even the appearance of causing damage to the party during the elections.

[Csaszar] What role did the fact that, according to rumors, you also suffered defeat within the party in making your decision?

[Pozsgay] I have not said anything about this so far, but it is no secret that I made yet another attempt to rethink my position within the party. I proposed to postpone the party congress and asked the party not to force us to come up with a program now, because the timing was inappropriate. As with any political organization in a situation similar to that of the MSZP, I do not think it is rational to be tasked with drafting a program now, instead of conducting a thorough analysis of its situation. Both proposals were rejected, and thus, from a moral viewpoint, I had a single possible solution left. I had to decide, because I did not feel that my position could properly be asserted in this program. [passage omitted]

[Csaszar] At the MSZP congress held last week, opinions differed about your decision. Some people said that you let the party down, and others said they hoped God would give you enough power to implement your ideas. Many people thought that the reason behind your decision was that the social democratic faction was gaining strength within the MSZP, that this could bring the party closer to its former major political opponent, and that you could not accept this because such a rapprochement could simply cause the MSZP to drift into the political periphery. Is there any basis to this claim?

[Pozsgay] Considerations of principle definitely have a basis. I repeat: I have nothing against either the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] or the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]. On the contrary, these organizations are important political factors needed by Hungary. As a result, the people voted for them; however, I cannot imagine the Hungarian political structure as a political structure of a shift economic system [valtogazdalkodas]. I thought that a Socialist Party would emerge in this system which would also be able to tackle national problems, a party that could be one of the three power forces in the country. I lost this hope after the local government elections. [passage omitted]

[Csaszar] A lot of speculation has been circulating about the background of your decision. I also heard that you would enter the government in one or two years; other rumors say that responsible government officials "suggested" that you create a national center party. To put it

crudely: You were simply lured into a gap because, despite your defeat, you are still considered to be a dangerous enemy.

[Pozsgay] I would like to dissipate all the rumors and speculations. Many considerations have played a role in my decision, but no considerations of a possible government job or joining the MDF. I can assure the public of that. This does not mean that such a situation could not occur in the future of Hungary, however, a situation in which either of these two possibilities could become reality. Great changes would also be needed in others for something like this to happen. [passage omitted]

[Hefty] Mr. Pozsgay, two of the four Hungarian politicians most known in the West, in alphabetical order—Antall, Horn, Nemeth, Pozsgay—are now in the independent's faction in parliament. What is your comment about this?

[Pozsgay] There is some injustice in this, but there is also some luck. The injustice is that, perhaps as a result of its historic desires and the actions of its major opponents, this regime cannot adequately appreciate the achievement of the so-called reform communists in restructuring our country. Our luck is that we do not have to share the responsibility of the current government. We do not want to exclude ourselves from this responsibility, but we were not asked to share it. [passage omitted]

FIDESZ Member on Relations With Other Parties

AU2211150390 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 20 Nov 90 p 5

[Interview with Gabor Fodor, parliamentary representative of the Federation of Young Democrats, by Janos Desi; place and date not given: "Sacrifices Can Only Be Demanded if the Real Situation Is Acknowledged"; first paragraph is MAGYAR NEMZET introduction]

[Excerpts] Following the local elections, the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] became one of the most influential parties in Hungarian political life. Previously, many people thought that the FIDESZ would disappear from public life fairly quickly. Now, the FIDESZ has proved that it has a place in public life. In a changing world, it has been been able to adapt quickly to new requirements. That was one of the subjects that we discussed with Gabor Fodor.

[Desi] It is often "suspected" that the FIDESZ is subtly trying to get into the government. The FIDESZ is just waiting for the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKgP] to drop out of the Antall cabinet, and then it can immediately occupy the vacated velvet seats.

[Fodor] Such rumors are really very frequent at the moment. That does not matter, because it is the political analysts' role to outline the most diverse possibilities. In principle, it could well be that if the coalition was dissolved and the FKgP left the government, the FIDESZ would take the FKgP's place. Many political analysts believe that this would be a better option than the current one. Before the elections, we stated that we are prepared to collaborate with any democratic party, in principle. We still follow that pragmatic logic today; however, we also declared that we could only form part of a government whose program was compatible with ours. The present government does not have a real program. The contents of both the document entitled "Directives of the National Renewal Program" and the booklet that was published thereafter do not correspond to the criteria of a government program. Furthermore, the directives contain propositions that even contradict each other, and which are diametrically opposed to the FIDESZ's concepts. So, as long as the government follows this "program," and as long as it maintains its present line-up, it would be unrealistic to think of a possible FIDESZ participation in the cabinet. In any case, Jozsef Antall has repeatedly confirmed that he does not wish to change anything about the parties that make up the government coalition. [passage omitted]

[Desi] It seems that the FIDESZ has much better relations with the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] than the other liberal party, the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ].

[Fodor] Fortunately, our relations are tolerable. If necessary, we are able to understand each other, even though our political views are completely different. That is very important, because I can hardly imagine anything worse in political life than the total absence of dialogue between parties. The FIDESZ upholds relations with every parliamentary party, perhaps with the exception of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP]. [passage omitted]

[Desi] What is the FIDESZ's opinion on the MDF?

[Fodor] The MDF is a very heterogeneous organization. Nevertheless, the parliamentary faction of the MDF is quite united, although I think that this harmony is often motivated by reasons of prestige, rather than identical political values. Society can still expect a good number of conflicts, and these conflicts will bring divergences to the fore. Actually, there are already examples of this: At the coordination council meeting that marked the end of the taxi drivers' blockade, it was an MDF representative that opposed the MDF ministers. [passage omitted]

[Desi] What does the FIDESZ think about its "natural ally," the SZDSZ?

[Fodor] The SZDSZ has promised a change of style and that would be an advantage. Indeed, I am not at all convinced of the wisdom of the SZDSZ's tactic, which consisted in responding to the slightest provocation and engaging in dead-end battles. A calmer, more sober, and more generous behavior is required on behalf of both the SZDSZ and the MDF. I have mainly voiced our criticisms about these parties. Naturally, the FIDESZ also has lessons to learn. I could also have mentioned good things: For example, despite a few jolts here and there,

the multiparty system works. In the long run, we will definitely see the benefits of this system.

Against Extremist Forces

[Desi] Does that mean that we should expect nothing positive for the near future?

[Fodor] The country's situation and people's living conditions will continue to deteriorate for a while. If, at long last, the government was capable of informing the citizens about the real situation, and if it laid down concrete aims, then it could ask for sacrifices. Thus, we could overcome the crisis more easily; indeed, our circumstances are still relatively favorable. Helpfulness is still quite widespread, we are still among the first Eastern European countries—those that are progressing toward the West—European stability is still important to the world, and the integration of Eastern European countries into European organizations is an important stabilizing factor. [passage omitted]

SZDSZ Chairman on Political Controversy

AU2611114590 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Nov 90 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Alliance of Free Democrats Chairman Janos Kis by Lajos Pogonyi in Budapest, on 19 November: "Janos Kis: Cease-fire in Parliament!"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Excerpts] We interviewed Janos Kis about his recent talks with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, the controversy between the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] and the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] in the Budapest Town Hall, FIDESZ official Viktor Orban's recent statements, and about the general domestic political situation. [passage omitted]

[Pogonyi] Following an interview with Budapest Mayor Gabor Demszky in the "168 Hours" radio program, one can even have the impression that SZDSZ-FIDESZ relations are really bad in the town hall.

[Kis] I cannot understand the FIDESZ attitude. On the one hand, they say that they will not provide a deputy mayor because the SZDSZ can be forced to adhere to a consensus only if they are in a minority in the general assembly. This explanation is not convincing in itself. If the FIDESZ had a deputy mayor, it could still preserve the consensus because this would not give more votes to the SZDSZ in the general assembly. On the other hand, despite its clear promise, FIDESZ did not accept the SZDSZ candidate for a deputy mayor. How does this comply with their demand to be the guarantee of consensus? In my opinion, they are breaking up the leadership in the Budapest town hall, a leadership which is still in formation. [passage omitted]

[Pogonyi] Prime Minister Jozsef Antall received you over the weekend. How long did the meeting last and what did you discuss?

[Kis] The meeting lasted about an hour. This private discussion was part of the series of negotiations carried out by the prime minister with the heads of various political parties. We dealt with the future rather than the past. Both of us started from the premise that, in the current economic situation, both the government and the opposition must do their utmost to make the political institutions operational.

[Pogonyi] This sounds rather abstract.

[Kis] We discussed the situation in which the SZDSZ is the opposition in parliament, and the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] is generally in opposition in local government bodies, and we must deal with this situation loyally. Mr. Antall informed me about two concepts: One concept is in connection with the fact that parliament must legislate a lot of laws in a rather short period of time. Although I think that this situation is primarily the result of a government delay and that this will happen again if the government does not accelerate its activity, we must find a solution now because our agreement with the IMF will be in danger if we do not have a budget, and Hungary's financial affairs would become impossible to handle. Mr. Antall proposed to work out a coordination mechanism among the parliamentary party factions. I told him that we supported the proposal and that we required public coordinating talks. [passage omitted]

[Pogonyi] What were your impressions after the talks?

[Kis] I consider a cautious optimism to be justified. The coming weeks will tell whether we achieved real progress.

[Pogonyi] What is your opinion about the Hungarian domestic political situation today, at the end of November 1990?

[Kis] I think that the local government election results and the taxi drivers' blockade caused such a shock that, as a result, one can hope that the ideological hatred that has almost torn the Hungarian parliament apart will subside. Another danger seems to emerge now, which is not that the political institutions might disintegrate as a result of ideological struggle, but that the government might simply become paralyzed. This could occur partly as a result of a lack of internal unity and the disturbances in the government apparatus, and partly because of a lack of coordination in the relations between the MDF faction and the government, as well as because of the party struggle within the MDF. Under such conditions, it would be very unfortunate if the liberal opposition also engaged in internal struggle.

Agrarian Alliance Chairman on 'Critical Situation'

LD2611145490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] [Announcer] According to the representatives of the Agrarian Alliance, the compensation demanded by

the Independent Smallholders Party [FKgP] could only be covered by incomes yet to be produced. Katalin (Tassi) reports:

[Tassi] Yesterday we were told that agriculture was still producing a $1 billion surplus. Today we hear that it may be able to supply the country with food, but only to a modest extent, added Tamas Navy, chairman of the Agrarian Alliance, reviewing the agricultural branch's critical situation. Unsellable meat, dairy, and viticulture products, as well as canning industries' products are piling up because there is no demand for them either on the domestic or the export market. It was a faulty decision in the summer to withdraw the 10-billion-forint support when customs duties were increased in other countries.

The reorganization of land ownership relations is nothing more than the scene of political skirmishes. It is wrong to believe that hundreds of thousands of unemployed will be employed by agriculture.

We ought to reach the stage where we can provide compensation for previous wrongs. In our judgement, we do not possess resources to think in terms of a general system of rehabilitation. Cover for compensation will only be available from surplus income produced in the future, stressed the representatives of the Agrarian Alliance.

After listing the crisis phenomena, they published the following recommendations: Because there is still not even a parliamentary subcommittee for agriculture, they propose the convening of a national agrarian council. They consider the relations with the FKgP to be absurd; [words indistinct] in the village, relations between them are unstable. The distance needs to be reduced, talks must be initiated with each other.

Minister Kadar Views Current Economic Situation

AU2311151890 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 21 Nov 90 p 7

[Interview with International Economic Relations Minister Bela Kadar by Janos Vajda; place and date not given: "Taxes Cannot Knock Everyone Down"; first paragraph is NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Text] Hungary was the only Eastern European country not to improve its balance of payments by putting administrative restrictions on imports, but by gradually lifting import restrictions and expanding exports at the same time. How can this healthy development be upheld, or even improved, in a world which is increasingly burdened by a general recession? We know that, so far, we have used the easily mobilized reserves of the Hungarian economy, but what will happen next? We interviewed Bela Kadar on these issues.

[Vajda] It seems that your fellow ministers outvoted you in the forint devaluation debate. According to the government spokesman, our national currency will not be devalued within the foreseeable future. The deputy chairman of the National Bank thinks that Hungary's positive trade balance does not even give grounds for a forint devaluation. Has all this not made you reconsider your viewpoint?

[Kadar] Allow me to note that there was no forint devaluation debate. Incidentally, I am a consistent person; I usually do not change my mind, especially not in a hurry. How close is "the foreseeable future?" You know, that depends on our (out)look. Let us not make predictions. No one can seriously believe that the value of the forint will permanently remain the same when there is an inflation rate of 30 percent. I do not think that it would be wise to continue with our old method: If the economy has a good, productive sector—like some of the leading industrial branches, or our foreign trade, at the moment—then we should burden that sector to try and save the others.

[Vajda] What are the greatest burdens afflicting our economy, and from where do they spring?

[Kadar] The loss incurred through the conversion from ruble accounts to dollar accounts in our CEMA trade, the damage caused by the drought, and the jolted world oil prices consume $3-3.5 billion; this amount—representing 11-12 percent of our GDP—disappears from our total social production. We can partly compensate for this loss by greatly increasing our exports or through privatization, but it is impossible to make up for more than half of the loss. At the most, taking future acceleration viewpoints into account, the government could equally distribute the burden among various heavy-duty profit-makers—business groups, social strata—which could just about bear this burden. The danger of making the economy collapse and overstepping society's tolerance threshold could and should be avoided on the basis of a consensus.

[Vajda] What measures are necessary to maintain the success of our exports—the main financial source for the payment of our debts and indispensable imports—or even to increase them?

[Kadar] In any case, we need to do more than just talk—on a government, parliament, or any other level—about an economic policy focusing on foreign trade, and, in fact, do absolutely nothing about it. If we carry out a major liberalization measure, we can only prevent production from being neglected through import competition by using a currency rate policy to help profitability and industrial protection.

[Vajda] The problem is that this would stimulate inflation rates....

[Kadar] If I am worried about that, then I can only maintain a balance by conducting a very strict monetary policy. This, however, would hinder the developing group of small and medium-sized enterprises which we would like to encourage. This is a vicious circle, one that would be hard to break. In a scarce economy, a limitless

restricting of salaries does not serve the right purpose. For more than a decade, this country has been neglecting the developments necessary for future survival by putting the blame on current restrictions. In situations where insufficient salaries are a problem, the main task is to expand supplies to the very limit. Development and a certain amount of collective impetus are indispensable for exports. The supposition that enough money was put aside for this purpose two years ago—when 300 foreign trade companies existed, compared to 10,000 today—is not based on facts, to say the least. A hoard of new companies, (Hungarian, with part foreign ownership,) small and large, want to gain a foothold on foreign markets; this requires various means, including an adequate financial background, credits, credit guarantees, and an infrastructure. (For example, reliable telephones, quick and flexible banking services, and reliable delivery capacities are all required.) Help is needed for market changes, so that goods which could previously be sold in the East for rubles on a prompt collection basis [prompt inkasszo] can now be replaced by an offer of goods that are very much in demand in the West, and which could be paid for in long-term payments [akkreditiv fizetesi moddal], shall we say. Perhaps we will also sell such products in the East, but only to partners who are unable to pay immediately in hard currencies. It is possible not to take all this into account, but then there will be no exports.

[Vajda] The foreign resources that can be imported are not limitless. Moreover, perhaps the most oppressive shortage in Hungary is the lack of capital. Where could we find money?

[Kadar] We could obtain money from the better-off groups in society, for example; nor could we obtain the money by flattening everyone to the ground through taxes. Sooner or later, we will have to create the right circumstances so sensible savings are made worthwhile, rather than prestige consumption, the reckless spending of forints, or the transfer of money into idle capital. This, of course, is impossible as long as deposit rates are lower than inflationary losses; however, high interest rates stimulate price increases. We should at least refrain from taxing the interest on people's deposits. Furthermore, if savings are made worthwhile, the next step is to invest money in businesses which have a higher yield than bank interest rates; so far, deposit levels are only growing in people's hard currency accounts.

[Vajda] For all this, it would be necessary to change our habits and our ways of thinking. Financial circumstances are closely linked to human factors.

[Kadar] Human resources should really not be underestimated. This is one of our greatest dilemmas: Will it be possible to eliminate enterprises which sustain losses that are incapable of generating a profit? This, of course, should not be done overnight because it would be tragic if 40 percent of Hungarian industry closed down from one day to the next. A social safety net would be indispensable for this development. Perhaps it would be easy to establish such a net based on the solidarity of Hungarian workers, on the contribution readiness of businessmen, or on their increasing tax burden, but I am very skeptical about this, and the budget cannot be passive either. (The lowering of social security contributions would offer some sort of a possibility.) We have reached twice the planned 40,000 unemployed that we had foreseen for 1990, and this figure could soar next year. We have to prepare for this in time. People have to be retrained, old professions will die out, and dynamic new professions will emerge. We have to anticipate structural changes, the government cannot remain passive. International programs will definitely provide some help, but that is not enough in itself.

[Vajda] Technological development is a similar problem....

[Kadar] At the moment, we are still debating whether or not there should be a centrally supported technological development. Should Hungary's technological or spiritual capacity remain the easy prey of foreign head hunters? Some 30 successful countries indicate that it would be wise to outline development orientations.

Finance Minister Comments on Economic Situation

LD2611231990 Budapest MTI in English 1651 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, November 25 (MTI)—The budgetary deficit calculated for next year could be reduced to 90,000-100,000 million forints which still seems too high as compared to the 50,000 million required by the International Monetary Fund, Ferenc Rabar, minister of finance, told the correspondents of the Hungarian television, the Hungarian radio and MTI after the special session of the government on Sunday. The briefing was attended by Katalin Botos, state secretary of defence, too.

Concerning the IMF's expectations, the minister said that the Hungarian economy's debt servicing capacity was limited and could not be extended too much. Further credits would not assist the country. Hungary could only be "pushed forward" by a non-repayable aid, Rabar said. There is some prospect for that since the Group of 24 seeks to provide coordinated assistance to Eastern Europe, including Hungary. This country would require 2,000-3,000 million dollars for putting its economy back on its feet and setting it on another track, Rabar said.

Katalin Botos said there was a chance of approach between the positions of the IMF ands the government. She termed it as an important decision of the Sunday session that the ministries would survey the situation of their background institutions, and explore further sources of austerity.

Rabar said that there would be further price rises in 1991 but failed to give exact figures and dates. The first major price rises will affect energy and household fuel early

next year. The latter will hit the population particularly hard but the state subsidies on household fuel still exceed 100 per cent. Elimination of these subsidies is an essential condition of transforming Hungary into a market economy. Since the sudden and complete withdrawal of these subsidies would impose an unbearable burden on the population, the government envisages a 50-per-cent reduction for next year. The issue of petrol prices has not yet been settled but it is sure that they will be liberalized as agreed upon in the interest coordination talks, Rabar said.

The government reckons with a rate of inflation of 34-36 per cent next year, which would differ from this year's rate by some percentage points only, Botos said. Nevertheless, the government has in mind to pursue an anti-inflationary policy which does not contradict the unavoidable price rises.

Rabar added that the rate of inflation would depend on a number of external factors and the success of anti-inflationary policy. For this reason, the stabilization programme aimed at halting inflation is a crucial part of the government's plan for 1991.

The representatives of the Ministry of Finance termed it as natural that all who see the draft budget from their own point of view would refuse it. This is quite understandable since the draft envisages new burdens and restrictions everywhere. Botos added that the government did not wish to impose its position on the representative organizations and parliament, it rather seeks a social consensus.

According to MTI's information, the government is to hold its next session on the 1991 state budget on Wednesday.

Mazowiecki Announces Government's Resignation

Describes 'Destructive Campaign'

LD2611185390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Statement by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki following the first round of the elections; in Warsaw on 26 November—recorded]

[Text] [Mazowiecki] These unfavorable results have been the expression of a very destructive campaign that was carried out against the government by all candidates, and the expression of a crisis that exists in Polish society and also some kind of confusion.

This is a very difficult lesson of democracy, but I think that we should not feel offended by the nation and should continue to strive for democracy, and that is what I am going to do.

[Announcer] Our listeners ask whether you will stay on as premier.

[Mazowiecki] No, it is impossible for me to stay. I said quite clearly that if I were not elected I would submit the government's resignation immediately. I cannot be held responsible for promises made by other candidates. They must be responsible now for their promises.

Considers Public Support Important

LD2611213990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Statement by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki in Warsaw during a break in Council of Ministers proceedings on 26 November—recorded]

[Text] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. From the moment I was charged with the mission of leading the government, I considered public support and understanding an issue of fundamental importance. The painful program, but one which Poland needs, of coming out of economic catastrophe can only be implemented with understanding from the majority of the people. For a number of months I felt that this understanding existed. It gave me strength and consolidated the government's determination in changing Poland. I am convinced that during this year we have done a great deal.

The results of yesterday's election show that the situation has changed. The vision of Poland's democracy and the creation of the basis of a healthy economy, which the government led by me has served, has been questioned. A contributing factor in this was the political campaign that has been going on for many months. In its course many empty promises were made and a number of serious accusations, frequently demagogical, were made against the government and myself personally.

The public has made a choice. I draw a conclusion from this choice. I have decided to submit the resignation of the government. This does not mean we will permit any kind of break down of the state. Until the prime minister proposed by the new president is appointed, the government led by me will continue to carry out its constitutional duties. It will not, however, take upon itself commitments which would tie the hands of the future prime minister and his ministers.

From the bottom of my heart I would like to thank all those who, during this difficult and critical period for Poland, gave me their support.

Election Committee Issues Statement

LD2611185990 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Statement of the National Election Committee of Tadeusz Mazowiecki]

[Text] Our candidate's failure is not a defeat for the vision of Poland he represents. On the contrary, we are convinced that work should begin immediately on building a great democratic political camp. Poland's interests require a clear statement that the war at the top started by Lech Walesa and a wave of promises, demagogy, and intolerance have led to a point in which Poland finds itself in a dramatic situation. We cannot, however, allow a tragedy, which the election of Stanislaw Tyminski—who grew up thanks to this atmosphere—would be.

The attitude of reponsibility for the state requires support for what serves the country's interests best. We will be guided by this principle while appraising the policy of a new president. To our friends, to Tadeusz Mazowiecki's electorate, we say: Let us go forward together. Poland open, democratic, and tolerant must win.

Walesa Comments on Announcement

LD2611232890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] This would had have to be done sooner or later, Lech Walesa stated following the announcement of the government's resignation. However, it could have happened calmly and at the appropriate time. There were posters about how calm the prime minister is, and now he is losing his nerve and I see he is not calm. This complicates the issue. I hope, however, that calmness will prevail and everything will end well, Walesa said.

First Multiparty Presidential Elections Held

Official Voting Figures Released

LD2611231390 Warsaw PAP in English 2107 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 26—The State Electoral Commission made public today the results of voting and the result of the elections for the office of president of the Republic of Poland held on Sunday, November 25th 1990.
—Voting was held in 22,665 polling districts.
—The number of those eligible to vote was 27,545,625.

—The vote was attended by 16,702,000 electors.
—The number of valid votes cast was 16,442,474.
—The number of invalid votes was 259,526.

Particular candidates received the following numbers of valid votes (in alphabetical order):

1. Roman Bartoszcze—1,176,175 votes, i.e. 7.15 percent of valid votes total,
2. Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz—1,514,025 votes, i.e. 9.21 percent of valid votes total,
3. Tadeusz Mazowiecki—2,973,264 votes, i.e. 18.08 percent of valid votes total,
4. Leszek Moczulski—411,516 votes, i.e. 2.50 percent of valid votes total,
5. Stanislaw Tyminski—3,797,605 votes, i.e. 23.10 percent of valid votes total,
6. Lech Walesa—6,569,889 votes, i.e. 39.96 percent of valid votes total.

The State Electoral Commission finds that out of the six candidates for president none has obtained the required absolute majority of votes.

Thus, on December 9th, 1990 another round of elections will be held with the participation of the two candidates who received the greatest number of votes in the November 25, 1990 elections.

The candidates in question are Lech Walesa and Stanislaw Tyminski.

PAP Reports on 'Shocking' Results

LD2611211690 Warsaw PAP in English 1959 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 26—As the unofficial returns of the Sunday presidential election may be termed surprising, the results in 49 provinces of Poland are in some cases shocking, due mainly to Stanislaw Tyminski.

In the provinces of Katowice, Leszno, Olsztyn and Pila, Tyminski defeated all of his opponents, while in the Slupsk, Elblag and Legnica provinces he got nearly the same number of votes as Lech Walesa.

The independent candidate was mainly supported by electors from less developed provinces, although he did rather poorly in the eastern and south-eastern regions of Poland.

In Gdansk Tyminski received slightly more than a half of votes given for Tadeusz Mazowiecki and less than one-third of votes for Lech Walesa. In the province of Krakow the prime minister got 2.5 times votes more than Tyminski and in the Warsaw province Tyminski was supported only by 12.65 percent of electors.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki beat Tyminski only in nine provinces, for instance, in Warsaw, Tarnow, Bialystok, Nowy Sacz, Poznan. In 16 provinces, mainly rural ones, the prime minister lost to Roman Bartoszcze, and in 15 to Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki was most severely beaten in the province of Zamosc where he got only 5.07 percent of votes. He received only slightly more votes in other rural regions of eastern Poland: in the province of Siedlce—5.51 percent, Lomza—6.66 percent, Biala Podlaska—6.75 percent.

The premier beat all other candidates only in the province of Szczecin (28.43 percent). He did fairly well in Poznan, Wroclaw, Opole, and Cracow.

Lech Walesa got over a half of valid votes in nine provinces, that is Gdansk, Warsaw, Tarnow, Lomza, Krosno, Krakow, Rzeszow, Radom, and Nowy Sacz, where he received as much as 62.29 percent of valid votes.

In the province of Pila only 25.24 percent of electors voted for the Solidarity leader and in Leszno Province—24.76 percent.

Leszek Moczulski lost, with two exceptions, everywhere and to all other candidates receiving from 1.43 percent of votes in the Bialystok province to 3.81 percent in Katowice.

The highest turnout was noted in the province of Leszno (67.79 percent) and the lowest in Opole (53.28 percent).

Bartoszcze Views Election Returns

LD2611115790 Warsaw PAP in English 1020 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Bydgoszcz, Nov. 26—Polish Peasant Party Chairman Roman Bartoszcze said this in an interview for the local Polish radio station here early this morning after learning the returns of the voting in 35 voivodships:

"As a party we staked on a programme in this campaign and perhaps we did not have enough time to properly present it. Parliamentary elections are in store for us in a few months' time and we are carefully getting ready for this campaign.

"The leaders of presidential elections are and are not a surprise and they express public disapproval for the government and parliament. But support for Tyminski is a suprise and I do not understand this."

Warsaw Vote Gives Walesa Lead

LD2611171390 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1615 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] The metropolitan voivodship results were the last to come in to the state electoral commission. We know unofficially that the commission has already finished counting. Lech Walesa received 39.96 percent and Stanislaw Tyminski received 23.10 percent. Taking part in the elections were 60.63 percent of those eligible to vote. The official results will be released at 1900 [1800 GMT] at a special news conference.

Walesa Aid Considers Prime Minister Candidates

LD2711142590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Excerpts] Zdzislaw Najder, chairman of the Citizens' Committee for Lech Walesa, told a PAP reporter that it could not be ruled out that he would accept the mission of forming a new government. [passage omitted]

Zdzislaw Najder also let it be known that a group of possible candidates for prime minister, apart from himself, include: Jan Olszewski, Jacek Merkel, Jaroslaw Kaczynski, and Lech Kaczynski. We are all in touch, he said.

A team of people is needed who trust each other. A person should be elected who could be most useful at the moment. I am talking about five people as their names have already been mentioned publicly.

Walesa Discusses Election Run-off, Tyminski

LD2611152190 Warsaw PAP in English 1338 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Gdansk, Nov. 26—Less than an hour after Lech Walesa's press spokesman announced the electoral staff and Walesa himself would not make any statements until all official results were in, the Solidarity chairman invited a group of newsmen to a short meeting.

Saying he did not want to comment on the elections as he did not know the official results, Walesa stated he was thinking whether he would enter the run-off.

"I would not like but one should think what would be good for Poland. I led this for 10 years. There even were victims and one cannot waste it," Walesa stressed.

"Tyminski is an accident in Polish democracy. With his example we are having an accelerated democracy course. We are learning on mistakes," the Solidarity chairman opined.

Walesa Rejects Placing Nation in 'Untested Hands'

LD2711121390 Warsaw PAP in English 1148 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Gdansk, Nov. 27—During a press conference here, Lech Walesa said that he would take part in the run-off of presidential elections.

Now, I have no choice as one cannot give Poland into untested hands. Responsibility for Poland does not let me adopt a different solution. If Mazowiecki had moved to the run-off, I would have withdrawn, giving him my votes.

Walesa stressed the need for social unity in the process of reforming Poland. It is not known to the end who is right but we must be united on the main topics. One should appeal once more to workers and to masses for understanding. If we are to build, we cannot become divided.

Mazowiecki Feels Walesa Defeat Necessary

AU2011142290 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17-18 Nov 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki by Kazimierz Woycicki; place and date not given: "To Protect Democracy"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Woycicki] If I may turn to your successes—are they visible enough?

[Mazowiecki] If they are not, then it is our collective fault. Here, I am thinking of the press and the circles responsible for disseminating information if important issues have not been sufficiently conveyed to the public. People cannot comprehend that direct controls have been lifted from the media service, just as they have been lifted from industry. The government does not have appropriate buttons to press, buttons that would ensure that any news item, commentary, or report shows things in a favorable light. I would also concede that the government is slightly to blame here. Although rejecting the old methodology of command structure, it has failed to be sufficiently dynamic in implementing new democratic mechanisms to convey its information to the mass media.

[Woycicki] Is it not a paradox that the government is accused of manipulating television, when in reality the government does not want to or does not know how to control it? Your enemies are visible on television than are your supporters.

[Mazowiecki] This is the result of our policy not to implement direct controls, and this leaves the people confused.

[Woycicki] Are you generally at ease with the mass media? Do your policies make an allowance for the multiple effects of the media?

[Mazowiecki] I feel good only when the media allows me to be my natural self. I feel uncomfortable when they demand that I start behaving unnaturally and in an artificial way. I am unable to do this and I readily admit it. [passage omitted]

[Woycicki] Was it a mistake not to launch your election campaign much earlier?

[Mazowiecki] No it was not. There is still the question of responsibility for the process of reforms and the basic values of the antitotalitarian movement that is called "Solidarity." The division of this movement should be a natural process, but by prematurely unleashing the election campaign, the mechanisms which stimulate this process have been brought into play in an artificial way. In my opinion, this has been very damaging. I did not want to be part of this process for as long as possible. Without looking to the final outcome, I think that we should have protected these common values, and avoided deep and destructive divisions. Apart from this, I am of the opinion that these difficult political and

economic changes should have been guided through together. In Gdansk on 31 August, I said that we might be Walesa's opponents, but never his enemies.

[Woycicki] Lech Walesa has called his program "a new beginning." Do you think that we need a new beginning?

[Mazowiecki] The real beginning was made when we took power from the communists. What is this new beginning to be based on? I believe that Poland needs a determined and unflinching continuation of the changes that were begun last year. The fundamental problem is to continue them energetically.

Of course, one can delude people with words that imply that new changes will come without sacrifices that society today has to make. When the time comes to produce concrete results that have been generated by this stimulation of illusions, we shall have chaos.

[Woycicki] Are you happy with all your supporters? Adam Michnik has stated that he will vote against Walesa, not that he will vote for you.

[Mazowiecki] I cannot demand conformity from all my supporters. It is clear that differences are bound to appear among people who support me. The essential precondition is that there should be agreement on the basic democratic model. The implementation of this model is the formation of what is called the alliance for democracy.

[Woycicki] Does not the slogan of trying to put the past aside—an important element in your first Sejm speech—now serve to protect the nomenklatura?

[Mazowiecki] This is a great falsehood. I would like to point out the subsequent evolution of that slogan. Initially, it was received very favorably. Only lately, has this slogan begun to be used for accusations against me. I repeat once again that the attempt to portray me as some sort of defender of the nomenklatura is a total fabrication and demagoguery.

Under my leadership, the government has eliminated the nomenklatura from the most vital areas such as the police and the Ministry of Defense. The rest is up to people in local government and in individual enterprises. They must take matters into their own hands. Throughout my period in office I have repeated that we have to bring to account all those people who broke the law or bent the rules. This is already being done in relation to the so-called nomenklatura companies. About 200 investigations are under way. However, it must be done according to the law.

[Mazowiecki] I do not agree with this assessment. Austria is not an EEC member either, and we would never say that there is a "Berlin Wall" between it and Germany, would we? It is not so much a wall as a difference in levels of economic development that is responsible for the serious division today. We tell our West European partners that it is neither to our advantage nor to theirs, nor again to all of Europe's advantage to maintain that division. We point to the need for speedier and more determined measures that can bridge that division.

Of course, our aim is to join the EEC on full membership terms. The status of associate member, for which we have just applied, is only an interim stage. But the road to the Community must be the same road that will open up our country to the Community (here I am thinking mainly of the economic transformations which are taking place in Poland) and open up the Community to our country. This is how we understand the process of getting rid of the last vestiges of the European divisions. And it is not only we ourselves who think in these terms: Many politicians in the West think the same way.

Of course, certain difficulties still persist, and these are acutely felt by our own citizens—such as the requirement for entry visas. But, as you probably already know, the authorities in the Federal Republic have announced a planned abolition of the entry visa requirement. I will be discussing this with Chancellor kohl, too. I believe that other democratic countries will soon follow Germany's example in this area.

[Kaczanowski] Have you already prepared a clear blueprint for Poland's foreign policy in respect of Germany?

[Mazowiecki] I should like to remind you that I have often made statements on the subject of Poland's policy in respect of Germany, as also has Minister Skubiszewski. We want to forge good-neighborly relations and intensive cooperation based on the firm platform of shared interests. The next major steps will be the signing of two important treaties with Germany. The first will definitively regulate the question of the border between our two countries. At the moment there are no differences in the views on this subject held by ourselves and the Federal Republic authorities. The second treaty will concern wider matters and reach into the future. It will define the framework of our future relations. My meeting with Chancellor Kohl will be geared precisely to this: a look forward to the future. We will talk about the most important concerns that we share and those which still divide us, in order to strengthen the first and eliminate the sources of misunderstandings and difficulties in our mutual relations.

[Kaczanowski] Szczecin is particularly interested in cooperation with Germany. This idea finds a positive resonance on the German side in the form of the declared willingness to pursue regional cooperation (recently an agreement was signed on cooperation with Bremerhaven). Szczecinians perceive the opportunities such cooperation will bring, but at the same time they are very apprehensive about the prospects of German domination. Are they right?

[Mazowiecki] I fully understand both the hopes and the apprehensions felt by the Szczecin population. On the one hand they perceive the regional cooperation with the Germans as an opportunity for Szczecin's future development and, on the other, they are afraid of becoming dominated by the enterprising and dynamic citizens of the

Federal Republic. It seems to me that we must try to overcome the historically grounded fears. Let us be open and dynamic, and let us take full opprtunity of the chances offered also to us by the new, democratic Germany. At the same time, of course, we must think—and we will continue to think—about how to protect our country against the threat of a loss of our economic sovereignty. This is by no means an indication of any discriminatory laws against Germany. It concerns a far more general problem concerning the Western capital, which we need very badly if we are to develop any economic potential, and of which we are at the same time afraid simply because we are still very weak ourselves.

[Kaczanowski] Thank you for talking to us.

Mazowiecki Committee Protests Tyminski Accusation

Electoral Commission Views Protest

LD2011211990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 20 Nov 90

[Text] The State Electoral Commission today discussed the protest lodged by Tadeusz Mazowiecki's national electoral committee in connection with the accusation by Stanislaw Tyminski that the prime minister had betrayed the nation. In keeping with the binding Polish law, the [commission's] statement reads: The candidates and their representatives do not enjoy any immunity during the electoral campaign which would release them from legal responsibility as far as the content of their speeches during the campaign is concerend. The issue here is both civil and penal answerability.

During his press conference in Warsaw, Stanislaw Tyminski announced that he does not withdraw his accusations against the prime minister, but that he will no longer use the phrase "the betrayal of the nation." Stanislaw Tyminski also visited Poznan today.

Tyminski Explains Accusation

LD2011211190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 20 Nov 90

[Text] Presidential candidate Stanislav Tyminski made a statement at today's press conference. He said, among other things: At a meeting with students of management schools in Zakopane, I accused Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki of ignoring national interests. I did it, Tyminski said, on the basis of the prime minister's instructions of 9 October. My reaction was emotional, caused by the language of the instruction, but also by the situation I could see in the country. Tyminski explained the meaning of his shocking statement, in which he accused the prime minister of betraying the nation as, and we quote, ignoring the nation's interests in the economic sense.

Tyminski's 'Absurd Claims' Noted

LD2011143890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1125 GMT 20 Nov 90

[Statement by Economist Marek Dabrowski—live or recorded; from the "Election Studio' program]

[Excerpt] On 17 November in Zakopane, presidential candidate Stanislaw Tymiski unjustifiably accused Prime Minister Mazowiecki and the Polish Government of having betrayed the nation, citing the excessively low price of the sold privatized state enterprises. Despite resolute proitests by government representatives and members of Mazowiecki's electoral committee, Stanislaw Tyminski repeated this absurd accusation in a television election program on 19 November. He then quoted what he called relevant figures from an allegedly secret document sent by Prime Minister Mazowiecki to Sejm Speaker Kozakiewicz.

In reality this is not a secret document. It is parliamentary paper Number 555, setting out the directions of privatization in 1990—a government document that has been examined and approved by the Sejm of the Republic.

As regards the figures quoted by Stanislaw Tyminski, these are indeed taken from this document but they concern something completely different. They indicate not the price of the enterprises sold, as stated by him, but the value of the products sold by those enteprises in 1989. Therefore, Stanislaw Tyminski spoke about a completely different thing, which has no direct connection to the sale of firms due to be privatized.

In addition, according to the very same document, the main purchasers of shares in these enterprises are to be Polish citizens and not foreign investors, and in some cases foreign investors are not even allowed. Therefore yet another lie—how else can one call it?

One should therefore ask: Is this a deliberate falsification by Stanislaw Tyminski aimed at misleading the public opinion and insulting the prime minister and the government of the Republic, or is it proof of his complete ignorance?

One would expect Stanislaw Tyminski, who is supposedly a serious businessman, to be able to tell the difference between elementary economic concepts. I would advise Stanislaw Tyminski to read less, but more carefully, he would then not repeat ad nauseam other absurd claims. [passage omitted]

Tyminski Comments on 1st-Round Election Campaign

LD2611203990 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Stanislaw Tyminski's electoral staff, situated in the Palace of Culture and Science, has been beseiged by foreign and domestic reporters since early this morning.

[Unidentified reporter] It is hardly surprising that everyone wanted to get more information about the candidate and about his forthcoming plans. The electoral staff informed us that at around 1000 hours Stanislaw Tyminski came out to meet reporters and held a short news conference. Whoever arrived late and did not get his name down on a special list had no chance of later meeting the presidential candidate. That was the case with the Wiadomosci team. Having succeeded in getting through the so-called security gate, through which we were conducted by Stanislaw Tyminskiy's personal bodyguard, we then waited in the next corridor for another hour. We managed to talk to Stanislaw Tyminski courtesy of a French television team with whom we had entered.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] In what way do you intend to conduct your election campaign prior to the second round of elections?

[Tyminski] In as objective and refined a way as possible. That is what I wanted to do during the first round.

[Reporter] Which means you did not succeed in conducting it that way during the first round?

[Tyminski] No, I did not succeed. There were lots of lies, horrible lies, and a lot of questions: Are you for or against? A campaign should not be conducted in so negative a manner. It is a great insult to your country. I think the television news behaved very badly.

[Reporter] Which means?

[Tyminski] It means it was not objective, because it is not a question of how many minutes are given to an address, but how often and in which situations. I was presented as a man who plays games and not as a statesman like the other candidates.

[Reporter] Will you be meeting with various residents, Sir?

[Tyminski] Of course. I would like to go to Silesia to thank them for such great support. We also see a very difficult situation in Silesia. We see strikes and hunger strikes. I would also like to meet large work enterprises and to learn directly the views of people who work in these enterprises in regard to privatization—what they think of it. I also hope there wil be a debate with Mr. Walesa, if, at this time, he is still in these elections. [end recording]

Government Fails To Meets Miners' Demands

LD2011231790 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 20 Nov 90

[Text] The Independent Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity National Mining Commission [KKG] has informed the government side about the situation in individual mines. The refusal and reluctance of the government side to meet miners' demands could threaten enormous, difficult-to-predict consequences, including a general strike. The NSZZ Solidarity KKG states that during the talks currently in progress, it presented the government side with all the negative consequences of government decisions, which had resulted in a very difficult situation in the mines. Taking into account the government's negative stance as to the possibility of solving the submitted demands within the framework of the existing law, the NSZZ Solidarity KKG states that the government will be held fully responsible for any events which may occur in the mines.

27 Mines Begin 24-Hour Strike

LD2111045690 Warsaw PAP in English 2234 GMT 20 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 20—As negotiations between miners' trade unions and government's representatives failed to bring any results on Monday [19 November], twenty-seven polish mines began 24-hour strikes today, the National Commission of Miners' Solidarity said.

"It is not the best time for staging strikes," leader of the hard coal federation of miners' trade unions Janusz Jarlinski said. "The government did not make any concessions and it looks like it does not intend to do so," he said and added that other solutions must be sought.

Mazowiecki on Building 'Democratic State'

LD2111050590 Warsaw PAP in English 2041 GMT 20 Nov 90

[By PAP correspondent Bozydar Sosien]

[Text] Rome, Nov. 20—"I want to build a democratic state where law cannot change according to the mood of its head or the way the wind blows....

"We will complete the building of democratic institutions of the state together with the spring parliamentary elections, that is, more or less two years after the fall of communism. But we will need much more time to restructure the economy," said Prime Minister Mazowiecki in an interview for the Italian daily LA REPUBBLICA.

Substantiating his stand and the way of conducting his electoral campaign, the prime minister said: "I am what I am, and I do not want to and cannot impersonate a people's tribune."

Joint Ventures Bill Not To Reach Sejm in Nov

AU2611132190 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 20 Nov 90 p 2

["abo" report: "A Slip-Up About Joint Ventures"]

[Text] "Despite earlier forecasts, the bill on enterprises partly based on foreign capital will not reach the Sejm in November," Foreign Investments Agency Chairman Zbigniew Piotrowski said on Monday.

"Following a series of meetings with representatives of the relevant ministries and consultations with the World Bank, it transpires that there are some matters that still need to be cleared up," said Piotrowski. "They include the degree of

incentive to invest in Poland which the act should contain, the method of transferring profits out of the country, and whether the 10 percent limit on shares in a private enterprise which any foreigner can hold, this percentage having been laid down in the Privatization Act, should be changed. Many people say that this is a bad signal being beamed out of Poland," said Piotrowski.

New OKP Chairman Issues Statement on Objectives

AU2011201190 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 16 Nov 90

[Statement by Mieczyslaw Gil, newly appointed chairman of the Citizens Parliamentary Club, issued to TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC; place and date not given]

[Text] I agreed to the proposal to become chairman of the Citizens Parliamentary Club [OKP]—a proposal stemming from very diversified groups within the OKP, so I am not overwhelmed by the fact that there were 118 votes in favor of my chairmanship and 70 against. The most important thing is that the club will continue to function, and that was my objective. Our task is to be able to achieve a consensus on issues which we still have to put through parliament, and I think I have a good chance of working out a consensus on the legislative duties this parliament is still facing.

I encountered a similar understanding among the OKP clerical apparatus. It is obvious that some people in it will leave, but after holding preliminary talks it has become clear that the changes will not interfere with the club's work.

This is not a purge. It is a quite normal selection of people to implement the club's tasks. No preference will be given to any particular political option from now on. The club will implement all the positive results of the political differentiation of deputies and senators.

I am still obliged to discharge the tasks I undertook in June 1989, and I will try to conclude them successfully.

Bush's Debt Reduction Letter Examined

AU2611184990 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 22 Nov 90 p 1

[Jacek Kalabinski commentary: "A Chance To Escape Debt"]

[Text] Poland owes the United States Government almost $3.2 billion, mainly for grain imports in the 1970's. Although the sum is not that great, the issue is problematic because a reduction in the Polish debt would trigger calls for similar treatment from the Latin American countries.

Latin American governments owe the U.S. Government $70 billion, and that is a significant sum for the U.S. Government which is struggling with the budget deficit.

For the time being, Bush's announcement has been of a very general kind. He has not said what form a reduction in Polish debt could assume. However, it is the first formal, although still not public, declaration that the United States is ready to waive part of Poland's debt.

In his letter, Bush has also stressed that the United States is ready to support the bold program of political and economic reforms that Poland is implementing. It is obvious that continuing with these reforms is a basic condition for a reduction in the debt.

Skubiszewski Interviewed on Germany, Foreign Policy

AU2011101090 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16 Nov 90 pp 1, 7

[Interview with Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski by Maria Wagrowska; place and date not given: "Toward Europe Without Being Weighed Down"]

[Text] [Wagrowska] The treaty confirming the border between Poland and Germany closes a difficult period in the postwar history of relations between our two states. How will the treaty affect the future of Polish-German relations? What is its significance for the two nations?

[Skubiszewski] A view that one can find in Poland, in the Polish press, is that the treaty was a straightforward issue. I think that this line of reasoning is false and reflects badly on Polish political thinking. It was even maintained by some that there was in a sense no need to raise the issue of the treaty, because Germany was to unite within the borders of the FRG and the GDR and that it was therefore obvious that our western border would not be altered.

Today's Germany has no aggressive or expansionist intentions. However, the line of reasoning that I mentioned does not take account of the fact that the issue of the treaty had to be settled within Germany itself; that it was an awkward problem for at least some Germans. Perhaps this does not apply to younger Germans, but it certainly does apply to those Germans who think in historical terms, in terms of the development of their state and its territorial development. During all my dealings with Germany and the Germans, during numerous talks, about which public opinion was more or less informed, I bore in mind the fact that the treaty was not only a Polish question, but also a German one. The German issue has now been settled; the treaty shows that there is a general German consensus concerning the border.

[Wagrowska] So, the treaty should be viewed as bearing witness to or as proof of an internal German settlement of the issue?

[Skubiszewski] It is extremely important that a German decision was one of the cornerstones of the treaty. Germany signed the treaty of its own free will, it did so freely, and not because these were conditions imposed on it as a result of war, and not as result of pressure applied by great powers, and, I would say, not even, because of unification....

[Wagrowska] ...but surely these factors also played an important part...?

[Skubiszewski] Of course they did, and historians will take all of them into account, but they were not of decisive importance. Today, what matters above all is the fact that this was not a decision that was imposed on the Germans. I would draw your attention to the signing of the treaty on 14 November, that is, less than three weeks before the German elections. This means that the whole issue is being placed before the electorate to obtain its approval. That aspect has not been noted in Poland. It also attests to the great importance of what happened on 14 November.

[Wagrowska] Let us return to the question of the border itself. However, it appeared that the question of the Polish-German border along the Odra and Nysa [Oder-Neisse] Rivers had been settled by history.

[Skubiszewski] Only in a certain sense. It could, of course, be asserted that it was settled in 1945, although that is a view that I have never held. There were omissions in the Potsdam Treaty. It was rather the case that this happened when the Germans who had lived in the former Reich territories were resettled and Polish citizens were then settled in these territories. Without the confirmation of the border, a certain unclear status could have continued to exist indefinitely; a situation that would have been very unfavorable and would have precluded or hampered normal relations between the two states on concrete issues.

Without negating the significance of the 1970 treaty, which was an achievement in our relations, it has to be said that it represented only one step forward. It did not settle the question of Polish-German relations once and for all. Although the treaty had been concluded, difficulties arose, even crises, such as the suspension of the legal transactions agreement, which the Mazowiecki government settled a year ago.

At the moment, there are no issues that are the subject of conflicts or disputes in Polish-German relations. We have removed the burden that weighed on them, although once again someone might say the burden was more apparent than real. However, it is well known that impressions and illusions can influence politics and that they can give rise to what can become actual fact and that they are themselves facts of a kind.

[Wagrowska] During his visit to Warsaw did the German foreign minister share your viewpoint that there are no longer any disputed issues between our states that would impose a burden on European relations?

[Skubiszewski] Yes, we agree about that, and that is why our cooperation was and is very good. We pin great hopes for the future on it. There are common interests and common concerns uniting us.

[Wagrowska] So, the second treaty on Polish-German good-neighborly relations should not present any difficulties?

[Skubiszewski] I see the path leading to it, to mutual cooperation, as a broad highway running in a straight line. Of course, there can also be holdups on this highway, because there are certain problems that still have to be solved— for example, the rights and duties of the German minority in Poland still have to be defined. I believe that we will find a good solution. These problems have to be viewed in perspective.

[Wagrowska] However, will there not be a holdup on the highway, and in Poland's relations with other states, because of the foreign policy changes that will follow the presidential elections?

[Skubiszewski] I am confident that Poland's foreign policy will not change. I have heard no mention of changes so far. A change is simply not possible. At most, one could think up a different name for what I am doing. One can say that Poland will maintain relations with its neighbors in the east, that is, not neighbor, but the plural form, neighbors. That is precisely what I have started to do, by saying that there is no single neighbor in the east and that a "dual" policy should be pursued. However, the Soviet Union will not disappear with the help of a few words. One has to be a realist.

Poland is not in a position to assist the breakup of the Soviet Union or otherwise. A policy of interference is not something that we are contemplating, that is not a European policy. In addition, that would set us at odds with the United States, and we are developing very good relations with the United States.

We have had our own foreign policy for 14 months, an independent policy. Very important changes are taking place while preserving the necessary degree of stability. Our policy cannot violate anyone's national interest, anyone's national self-determination. We support self-determination. If stability is upset, then this policy itself will collapse.

Moreover, our partners see a great role for Poland in preserving this stability in our part of Europe. There should be no adventurism, and I am confident that no one in Poland will pursue a an adventurist foreign policy, irrespective of who will be occupying the Office of the Council of Ministers or the Belweder Palace.

Iliescu Says Paris Summit Meets Expectations

AU2311170890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1528 GMT 23 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/11/1990—"The conclusion arising from the proceedings of the Paris summit of the 34 European states and of the North-American countries as well as from the opinions expressed by all the participants was that the conference met everybody's expectations," said President Ion Iliescu in reply to the questions asked by ROMPRES in connection with the Romanian delegation's participation in the Paris summit of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe. "The conference truly proved to be the major political moment of the year," he added, appreciating that "it crowned the past twelve months' developments in Europe, changing the face of the continent and deeply influencing the international political ties in Europe and the world, the conference itself becoming a starting point for a new opening. It was clear for everybody that bloc mentalities were put an end to both in world and European politics, that a new time is really beginning for the European interstate relationships.

Considering the changes that have occurred and are still to be expected in this country, for Romania, this new climate is of tremendous importance, for the consolidation of the democratic process in political life and for the implementation of the structural changes in our economic life on the one hand. On the other hand, for this very reason, I noticed the responsibility with which many heads of state and government from Western countries view the importance of a consensual commitment of all European states for the stability of the political and economic life in East-European countries as a prerequisite and decisive factor of pan-European stability."

Speaking of the meetings occasioned by the Paris summit, the president further said: "For three days running, I had the opportunity to talk to most of the heads of delegations at the conference. Besides the meetings previously arranged, we had the opportunity to get in touch with many of the leaders present. From this point of view the Paris conference made it possible for us to add to the appointments and talks we had previously held in New York and Tokyo. Favourable circumstances were created for us to get acquainted and discuss problems of mutual interest, to compare our opinions on topics and events of mutual interest and this was, to my mind, a positive element that undoubtedly helped clarify a lot of problems, misunderstandings still looming in connection with the situation in Romania. In my interviews with heads of state and government I always stressed that, regardless of personal options, likings, existing relationships or different opinions on the events, developments or phenomena in one country or another, international relations should be governed by the openness that was the tenor of this conference.

Relative to the Romanian-North-American meeting in Paris of the foreign ministers, President Iliescu termed it as a positive step in the evolution of the United States' attitude to us, a fact duly noticed by the American secretary of state himself. We expect this change of attitude to be reflected in the position international organisations will adopt towards Romania. I consider it my duty to remark that this touch of understanding to Romania I have noticed with other personalities I talked to among whom I should like to mention Mrs. Lalumiere. I can say that the willingness to remove a number of obstacles in the way of rapprochement, of the normalisation between this country and important international institutions was obvious."

Referring to the Romanian-French top level meeting, the Romanian president made it his point in saying:

"My meeting with President Mitterrand was one of the most important moments of my bilateral contacts. Both the president of France and other representatives of the French Government, including the prime minister and foreign minister, showed the best intentions, cordiality and support for Romania. Their attitude springs from a correct understanding of the developments in Romania, of the sources of the difficulties we encounter, from the sincere wish of France to further sustain us in our bilateral ties and in the European institutions. From this point of view, the French-Romanian contacts were an important moment of our presence in Paris. As a matter of fact, it was only left for us to agree on the date for President Mitterrand's visit to Romania. It was with the thought of meeting again in Bucharest, at the beginning of next year that we parted."

As for the prospects of the Romanian diplomatic activities, the president said: "With the busy schedule of this end of year favouring a broad overall opening of the international political life, I think that both the government, the presidential institution, the Parliament and other fora should get involved in an intense international activity, both on bilateral plane and in the existing European institutions or in those to be set up at continental or world level, so as to maintain our dialogue with the world. We have so much to do to strengthen our relations with our neighbours, with European states generally, with states in other continents.

Iliescu Calls U.S. Presence in Europe 'Desirable'

AU2311214090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2158 GMT 23 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/11/1990—During a news conference that took place at the Kleber Centre in Paris, President Ion Iliescu, answering the journalists' questions, said, among other things, that "as for the Warsaw Pact, the military component has been practically eliminated from the activity of that treaty. Already at the Moscow summit in July it was agreed that the military component should decrease and essentially disappear from the activity of that treaty, which was to act for some time merely as a framework for multilateral political contacts between the countries participant in that alliance. As for NATO, it certainly is up to the

member-states to decide about its further evolution and its future functions under the new circumstances when a general-European institution is to develop, the president said, adding that America's presence in Europe—to which it is tied through cultural roots—is therefore useful and necessary and, no doubt, desirable.

In another string of ideas, President Iliescu underlined his country's interest to extend collaboration with the Danubian countries, appreciating there were multiple possibilities to develop economic activities. By means of that route we—intend and offered possibilities of access even to non-riparian countries—to use Constanta Harbour and the Danube-Black Sea Canal as a platform for various economic activities not only for relations with Romania but also with other Danubian countries upstream. The matter met with interest from the other Danubian countries I talked to. That opens yet another possibility: In Germany they have almost completed a canal linking the Danube to the Rhine, which opens the prospect of a direct route from Constanta to Rotterdam, crossing Europe from east to west, the president said.

Having opted for opening up to the world, as a general line of our foreign policy, we are naturally interested to strengthen good relations with all our neighbours and generally speaking our relations with our neighbours are good, Romania's president further stated.

At the moment there is some tension in our elation with Hungary. I think that source of tension is being artificially fanned and I myself have expressed my wish, my availability, my hope and belief that we must find solutions to all the problems concerning our bilateral relations. In fact, all there is to it lies in the condition of the Hungarian minority living in our country and the way it is handled for certain political ends.

Of course there are problems about the Hungarian minority and not only about it. But we have taken such steps and made such opening after the revolution in order to create conditions of perfect equality and full expression of one's self, of one's life, of all cultural entities and of the specific experience of every population, including the Hungarian population.

Parliamentary Delegation Ends Visit to Moscow

AU2611171290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1557 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/11/1990—A Romanian parliamentary delegation including representatives of all the political groupings in the supreme legislative forum in Bucharest, concluded the visit they paid to the Soviet Union upon an invitation extended by the Foreign Relations Committee of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The Romanian parliamentarians met with I.D. Laptev, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the Supreme Soviet and conducted talks in various parliamentary committees and commissions, at the headquarters of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the Union of Friendship Associations for Cultural Links with Foreign Countries.

At the end of their visit, the Romanian chief delegate, Dumitru Caluianu, vice-chairman of the Foreign Relations Commission of Parliament, showed that all the meetings and talks in Moscow had been extremely useful, offering possibilities of first-hand knowledge of aspects related to the processes of democratization under way in Romania. The need was stressed for intensified links on a parliamentary and governmental level to take our relations onto a qualitatively superior level through all the means at our disposal, considering the developments on our continent and according to the new "charter" of Europe.

A.A. Ananiev, vice-chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Soviet parliament, highlighted the two parliaments' concern to find the best ways to overcome the difficulties confronting their countries.

Bulgarian Deputy Defense Minister Pays Visit

Meets With Iliescu

AU2411150590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1300 GMT 24 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/11/1990—Romania and Bulgaria are ready to find new forms of cooperation to overcome the present situation, with stress on the economic cooperation and collaboration. This readiness was expressed during the interview President Ion Iliescu had on Saturday morning with the Bulgarian [deputy] minister of national defense Yordan Yakov Mutafchiev.

The Danube links, it does not separates us, said Mr. Iliescu, and the relations between our two countries, set on new realities, must be a stabilizing factor in this part of Europe.

During the interview, also attended by Messrs. Victor Atanasie Stanculescu, Romanian minister of national defense, and Stefan Naumov Yordanov, Bulgaria's ambassador to Romania, information was exchanged on the course of the democratic processes in the two countries in the light of the mutations occurred in the political life of the East European countries.

Holds Talks With Stanculescu

AU2411173590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1625 GMT 24 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/11/1990—The Ministers of National Defense of Romania and Bulgaria, Colonel General Victor Stanculescu and Colonel General Yordan Yakov Mutafchiev, respectively, convened following their talks held in Bucharest over November 23-24 to strengthen the collaboration between the two armies, a fact appreciated as favored by the democratic changes in the two countries as well as in the whole Europe.

Iliescu Meets London Strategic Studies Director

AU2311202290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2021 GMT 23 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/11/1990—President Ion Iliescu received on Friday Mr. Francois Hesbourg, director of the International Institute of Strategic Studies of London. The parties exchanged opinions about the situation on our continent given the deep political changes which occurred in central and Eastern Europe. Referring to the significance of the recent summit of the states participant in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the speakers underlined how important it was to apply the decisions of that forum so as to ensure inter-state peace, security and cooperation, the establishment of normal neighbourly relations of cooperation between all European states being a guarantee to that end.

Iliescu Meets Participants in Symposium

AU2311192790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1915 GMT 23 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/11/1990—"We have appreciated the receptivity of the members of the commission for drafting Romania's new Constitution to our ideas born from our experience," stated Mr. Ben Overton, judge at the Supreme Court of the State of Florida, after the interview Romania's President Ion Iliescu had on Friday with the participants in the international symposium "Constitutional Perspectives and Mutations in Eastern Europe" held in Bucharest over November 19-23, 1990.

Thanking for their participation in that symposium, Mr. Ion Iliescu mentioned that "it was a good opportunity to mutually enrich our experience in that domain." He also laid stress on the multiple consultations Romanian Parliament's Constitutional Commission had lately with experts from countries with rich democratic traditions on the current tendencies in constitutional law "so that the elaboration of our Constitution take into consideration everything good in that line."

In their addresses, the participants in the interview, experts in Constitutional Law from 16 European countries as well as from the USA, appreciated Romania's wish to draft a democratic constitution with broad international consultations, underscoring at the same time that it should be elaborated "on national bases, on the country's experience and, especially, on a broad public consultation to be convinced that it has the whole country's support."

President Iliescu Receives U.S. Congressman

AU2411180190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1612 GMT 24 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/11/1990—On Saturday Mr. Tom Lantos, member of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress, conveyed President Ion Iliescu the good appreciation enjoyed by Romania on behalf of the U.S. Congress and Administration for its constructive stand in the Iraqi attack against Kuwait.

The meeting between President Iliescu and the American Congressman occasioned the approach of aspects regarding the relations between Romania and the United States of America, and real possibilities were found out for their development and diversification.

The interview was attended by Messrs. Larry C. Napper, U.S. charge d'affaires ad interim in Bucharest, and Ioan Mircea Pascu, presidential councillor. [passage omitted]

State Secretary Neagu Attends Swiss Symposium

AU2411180090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1702 GMT 24 Nov 90

[Text] Bern, ROMPRES, 24/11/1990—Zug (Switzerland) hosted the symposium on the Romanian economic reform and its perspectives the new conditions in the country opened for the trade exchanges and economic cooperation with Swiss companies. Romania attended with a representative delegation of the basic forums connected with the reform, headed by Mr. Romulus Neagu, secretary of state at the ministry of foreign affairs, member of the government. Switzerland was represented by over one hundred participants from more than sixty companies well known in Switzerland and all over the world.

The debates emphasized the thoroughness of the process of Romania's transition to the market economy and in that context the broad possibilities given to foreign companies for economic cooperation actions.

The unanimous conclusion was that there were real conditions for broad investments in Romania for the mutual benefit, but all sides involved should make efforts to that end.

Roman Interview Views Joint Hungarian Relations

AU2411150790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1139 GMT 24 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/11/1990—In an interview with "LA PRENSA" daily, answering a question regarding Romania's relations with Hungary, Romanian Premier Petre Roman opined that between the two neighbor countries there was no difference having as object Transylvania and hence there was no international problem in that respect.

The fact that "Hungary continues to consider itself responsible for the Hungarians living outside its frontiers, pretending to be the "mother country", and requesting "special rights" for the Hungarian minority, "in contradiction with the human rights principles enshrined in the CSCE Final Act, generates tensions which affect its links with Romania and with other of its neighbors, the all-European climate of cooperation on

the basis of the generally acknowledged principles of international law." This attitude of Hungary is "all the more ununderstandable as the treatment enjoyed today in Romania by ethnic minorities is that of full freedom, exceeding by far those Hungary grants to the ethnic minorities living in its territory, the Romanian one included." Nevertheless, the Romanian premier stressed, "setting from the desiderata of good neighborliness, the Romanian Government works for the development of bilateral relations, for a constructive dialogue at various levels."

Economic Delegation Visits Turkey 23 Nov

AU2311150090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1212 GMT 23 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/11/1990—A Romanian economic mission is visiting Turkey upon the invitation of the Union of Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Maritime Trade and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey to talk with representatives of business circles in that country. The Romanian delegation is led by Dr. Aurel Ghibutiu, president of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Romania.

So far the delegation have conducted talks with executives of the Commodity and Stock Exchanges Chamber and of the Navigation Commission in Istanbul, as well as with the secretary-general of the Union of Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Maritime Trade and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey.

The interviews underscored the existence of real possibilities for growing economic and commercial ties between Romania and Turkey.

Brazilian Minister of Infrastructure Visits

AU2411180390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1621 GMT 24 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/11/1990—Over November 21-24, 1990, Mr. Ozires Silva, Brazil's minister of infrastructure, head of an economic delegation, visited Romania at the invitation of Mr. Mihai Zisu, minister of resources and industry.

On the occasion talks were held at the Ministry of Resources and Industry, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of National Defence, Ministry of Public Works, Transports and Land Planning, as well as at the Ministry of Trade and Industry.

The Brazilian delegation visited the Bucharest Aircraft Enterprise, the Bucharest Heavy-Equipment Enterprise, the Petrochemical Combine in Brazi, the Tractors Enterprise and the Autotrucks Enterprise in Brasov.

In the afternoon of November 23 Mr. Ozires Silva was received by Romania's President Ion Iliescu.

During the interview the heads of the two delegations made a survey of the economic situation in the two countries and underscored the main goals of their governments' economic policy in the current stage and in perspective. On the occasion similar points of view were seen concerning decentralization, privatisation of state-run enterprises and the legal support of independent economic agents and of private enterprises.

Stress was laid on the two sides' wish to develop and expand bilateral economic exchanges and economic cooperation starting from the two countries' industrial experience and on the basis of new forms of collaboration, mutual transfer of technology, setting up of joint ventures. Various domains of interest were agreed upon such as oil, ore, electric power, transports, telecommunications, machine building, and others.

The understandings convened were recorded in the memorandum concluded between the two sides at the end of the visit.

Meets Defense, Trade Ministers

AU2311192590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1921 GMT 23 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/11/1990—The meeting between Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase and Brazil's Minister of Infrastructure Ozires Silva, now on a visit to Bucharest, emphasised the convergence of Romania's and Brazil's points of view on the main international issues.

It was an opportunity to see the favourable conditions for the development and diversification of the relations between the two countries.

On Friday the Brazilian minister also met with the Romanian minister of trade and tourism, Mr. Constantin Fota.

Confers With Iliescu

AU2311214390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2133 GMT 23 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/11/1990—The interview between Mr. Ion Iliescu and Ozires Silva, minister of infrastructure of Brazil, occasioned and exchange of messages between the presidents of the two countries, after their recent meeting in the Nippon capital city, where they attended the ceremonies occasioned by the coronation of Japan's emperor.

The Brazilian minister referred to the contacts he had in Bucharest with representatives of several ministries to the end of stimulating economic exchanges and identifying new areas of cooperation between economic agents of the two countries.

Romania's president was informed about the signing of an aide-memoir at the Ministry of Resources and Industry which sanctions the concrete results of the meetings and talks the Brazilian delegation had in Bucharest.

Prime Minister Roman Arrives in Uruguay

AU2411151090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1110 GMT 24 Nov 90

[Text] Montevideo, ROMPRES, 24/11/1990—Continuing his tour of Latin America, Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman and his party arrived in Montevideo, the capital city of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay, where they will pay an official visit at the invitation of President Luis Alberto Lacalle Herrera.

Upon his arrival at the Carrasco International Airport of Montevideo, Prime Minister Roman was welcomed by the president of the host country, Mr. Alberto Lacalle Herrera, and the members of the government.

The Uruguayan head of state highlighted on the occasion the lasting links of friendship between the two countries despite geographical distances, hailing the democratization process and the building of a state of law in Romania.

In his turn, Premier Petre Roman stressed that the Romanian delegation were the messengers of a "sovereign and free people, unequivocally determined to consolidated in the new Romania born after the December 1989 revolution a society set on pluralism of ideas, on the firm observance of human rights."

The Romanian premier expressed his firm belief that the visit would allow for the setting of tangible modalities of deepening the traditional ties of friendship and cooperation between Romania and Uruguay.

PNL Leader on Economic Crisis, PSM Founding

AU2311192890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1854 GMT 23 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/11/1990—Referring to the current socioeconomic situation in Romania after eleven months since the December 1989 Revolution, Mr. Radu Campeanu, vice-president of the Senate and president of the National Liberal Party (NLP) [PNL], stated in an interview granted to a ROMPRES reporter: We are living a deeply economic crisis the cause of which can obviously be found in the former regime as well as in the deficient policy pursued by the current government which has done nothing but aggravated it.

Mr. Radu Campeanu considered Romania's economic situation as being characterized by two major phenomena: a determining one which shows in the fact that all the industrial production structures are used only in a proportion of 60-65 percent, and the "vacuum of authority" which can be met everywhere and brings about a bad functioning of commercial networks. Noting the workers' passive attitude toward the production process and their own salary interests, the NLP president criticized the current regime's economic policy mentioning that ten months ago he had characterized the payment which did not harmonize with production as salary demagogy. Now people think they may even not work and still receive a salary, Mr. Campeanu said opining that such a mentality was also conducive to growing criminal acts, to theft in enterprises, a phenomenon also referred to quite frequently by the Romanian Government.

The imbalance of the Romanian economy has also grown owing to what is wrongly called today the "price liberalization," underlined Mr. Radu Campeanu adding that from the very beginning the NLP has contested the terminology used by the government considering it rather a price rise than a price liberalization. Showing that in order to be real price liberalization it should be preceded by several measures like the creation of private enterprises and the fast transformation of economic structures into public corporations and trading companies, the NLP president said: Though passed by the Parliament, the law regarding public corporations and trading companies is not efficient yet since the present managerial staff of enterprises do not know how to apply it. We think that the liberalization of prices is not only a wrong but also a very serious measure because it transfers the state's financial difficulties to the citizen's pocket. He stated he feared that the present-day economic crisis should not turn into a mounting social crisis taking into account the recent demonstrations of protest staged in Bucharest and in other localities on November 15.

Referring to the setting up of the Socialist Party of Labour [PSM], Mr. Radu Campeanu said: In my capacity as a liberal and democratic politician I think only the court can decide whether a political party can function or not. But, he added, beyond the court there is the Romanian public opinion, the consciousness of the Romanian people that, for 45 years, suffered from an unparalleled violation of rights as well as of its moral, intellectual and social values. The daringness to form another party a non-communist one which is called today "the Socialist Party of Labour" after eleven months when Romania became open to democracy seems to me not only irresponsible but quite criminal, the collocutor said.

Expressing his disapproval of the fact that those who formed the new party at head with Ilie Verdet, former RCP [Romanian Communist Party—PCR] leader, have not clearly defined its political position and programme, that they have not stated to have completely separated from a doctrine which contributed to the moral and material disaster of Romania, Mr. Radu Campeanu concluded: I think the initiative of founding the Socialist Party of Labour to be obsolete and detrimental not only to the Romanian people but also to Romania's prestige worldwide.

PSM Leader Denies Connection With PCR

AU2411150990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1114 GMT 24 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/11/1990—"We do not state that we are the successors of the Romanian Communist Party", said Ilie Verdet, leader of the newly

created and so much discussed Socialist Labor Party [PSM], in an interview with the Romanian Television on Friday [23 November] evening. "The structure of our party has nothing in common with the structure of the former Romanian Communist Party [PCR]", he stressed. "From the point of view of its structure it is closer to the European left, and from the point of view of ideology and policy to the fighting traditions of the Romanian left". In context the PSM leader stressed that the emergence of that party was necessary to fill in the gap of the Romanian political left after the revolution and strike a balance among all the political forces of the country.

"Since the PCR has not been dissolved, neither legally nor statutorily, it just ceased its activity after the events of and after 22 December 1989, some members of the former PCR Central Committee and of the Auditing Commissions from 32 counties have jointly agreed upon the reorganization of the RCP into a socialist party on different bases and structures. And that socialist party merged with the Democratic Party of Labor at the latter's convention attended by 575 delegates and representatives, of which 356 of the DPL [PDM]. At present the new party numbers 123,000 enrolled members", Ilie Verdet stated.

Cluj Protest Meeting Against Creation of PSM

AU2311171190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1556 GMT 23 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/11/1990—An unofficial meeting was held in Cluj-Napoca on Thursday evening, the organization of which was claimed by no political grouping or professional associations. The demonstrators protested against the recreation of the former Communist Party under the front of the Socialist Party of Labour [PSM]. Anti-government and anti-president slogans were chanted.

Revival of Former Communist Party Protested

AU2311145090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1257 GMT 23 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 23/11/1990—We protest against those who, by speculating the imperatives of the democracy about to be established, try to remake a party of fascist type, reads an appeal of the Party for Praising the Heroes of the Revolution and for National Salvation of Romania (founded underground during dictatorship and totalitarianism) addressed to mass media in Romania and in all countries of the world.

Noting in astonishment and boundless revolt the insane attempts of former dignitaries to revive the communist danger in our beloved Romania pushed to the threshold of complete disaster by these very representatives of totalitarianism who agreed in cold blood that best sons of our people be fired at in December 1989, the appeal shows, we protest against the magistrates that, although "independent" shunned the real musts of the law on the formation of the political parties and firmly demand the Senate and the Assembly of Deputies to ensure—in Romania's legislative body—the analysis and liability of those who have once more marred the moral standing of Romania's capital, by shunning the law in order to open new ways of [word indistinct] of this people so hard tried in the last 45 years.

Parties Want Greater Role in 1 Dec Celebration

AU2611143090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1408 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 26/11/1990—The Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party [National Peasant Christian Democratic Party—PNT-cd] and the Romanian Social Democratic Party [PSD] have applied to be included in the programme of the celebrations which are to take place in Alba Iulia on December 1. The presidents of the two parties request that during the festivities when addresses are to be delivered by the president and speaker of the two chambers, by Romania's president, the prime minister and the leaders of parliamentary groups, they may read short speeches immediately after the address by the head of state.

The request is based on the well-known historical fact that the Great National Assembly of Alba Iulia in December 1918 as well as the whole struggle for Transylvania's national liberation was the brilliant work of the Romanian National Party led by Iuliu Maniu and of the Romanian Social Democratic Party which represented all the people of that Romanian province. For that reason, Mr. Corneliu Coposu and Mr. Sergiu Cunescu, leaders of the Peasant Party and of the Social Democratic Party, respectively, who consider themselves heirs to the great 1918 union men, sent a letter to President Ion Iliescu, to Prime Minister Petre Roman and to the speaker of the Assembly of Deputies, Dan Martian, to that effect.

The National Assembly of Alba Iulia over November 18 December 1 was the acme of the activity carried out by the two Romanian parties of Transylvania for the emancipation of their people and for the unification of that ancient historic Romanian province with the motherland (it is common knowledge that Transylvania had been conquered by the Hungarians at the end of the first millennium and had been included in the Hapsburg Empire in 1699). In the same year, 1918, by the decisions of the National Assemblies of Kishinev (March 27) and Cernauti (November 28) Bessarabia and Bukovina had been united with Romania.

Gathered in the Alba Iulia town casino, known in history as the Union Hall, the 1228 delegates representing all the towns and social categories of Transylvania adopted by show of hands the Proclamation of Unification of Transylvania, Banat, Crisana and Maramures with Romania. The same proclamation was welcomed in cheers by the over 100,000 Romanians from all Transylvania who had gathered on Horea's Field outside the walled city of Alba Iulia.

The Great National Council of Transylvania created on that occasion elected a Steering Council (Provisional Government) of 15 ministers (ten from the Romanian National Party, two from the Social Democratic Party and three independents) headed by Iuliu Maniu (1873-1953), president of the Romanian National Party from 1918 to 1920, a great politician and fighter for the Romanians' unity, as president. Later, after his party joined Ion Mihalache's Peasant Party under the name of the National Peasant Party, Iuliu Maniu was president of the new party (1926-1933 and 1937-1947) and three times prime minister of Romania.

Adopted by Romania's Parliament at the end of 1918, the Union Papers were countersigned by King Ferdinand and thus the century-old Romanian dream of restoring the national territory within the frontiers of ancient Dacia became a reality.

Greater Romania was recognized by the International Peace Treaties of Versailles (1919-1920).

ADEVARUL Warns Against Rewriting History

AU2611143290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1307 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 26/11/1990—One of the most revolting cases of abuse in any totalitarian communist regime was to "rewrite" history, that is to adjust it to specific political goals depending on particular circumstances, an editorial published by daily "ADEVARUL" reads. And that bad habit is still deeply rooted in ourselves, the author says, underlining that "we should have the skill—an eminently Romanian quality—to rid ourselves of communism once for all without becoming hysterically anticommunist." A certain trend to "rewrite" recent history, the daily reads on, was unfortunately obvious on the occasion of the events commemorating three years since the Brasov workers' revolt on November 15. In the first place, the author says, was the attempt to unfairly minimize the Valea Jiului miners' strike of August 1977 (preceding therefore the Brasov events by ten years). Taking the prime minister as a hostage was not a political action? If the 1977 strike was unimportant, the author wonders, why did Ceausescu think it necessary to travel himself to Valea Jiului?

It seems absurd to start censoring our own history of antitotalitarian resistance, blur one chapter (as if trying to punish the miners for the June 14-15 events by denying their merits of 1977), and lay the stress on another whose importance is exaggerated. The Brasov workers' courage, daily "ADEVARUL" reads on, needs no exaggeration. It was exemplary and deserves our deep respect, our profound gratitude. But we may question, in the author's opinion, the too firm definiton like sticking a label on it later—of the November 15, 1987 movement—as exclusively anticommunist, highly aware of its meaning and purpose, as if Ceausescu had never lived in Romania. Naturally, the author comments, the Brasov workers' revolt, as much as the Valea Jiului miners' strike and as the December 1989 revolution, had an implicitly anticommunist character, but people did not rise against communism as an abstract notion but against the communism they personally suffered from, Ceausescu's communism. Speaking about Ceausescu as if he were a speck on a shrunk and shabby coat that needs throwing away looks to me like falsifying history in the "best" tradition of the recent past, the editorial in "ADEVARUL" points out.

"Reversing the sequence of motivations, forcing the chronology of awareness is to challenge the obvious. On November 15, 1990 some were interested to make the Brasov movement look purely anticommunist (and least of all anti-Ceausescu). When one intends to seize power through street democracy (and not through elections) one will not hesitate about some "slight correction" of historic truth," the aforementioned daily concludes.

PNL Clarifies Criticism of Iliescu TV Interview

AU2611144590 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 14 Nov 90 p 2

[National Liberal Party Press Bureau communique: "In Order To Eliminate Any Confusion"]

[Text] A communique issued by the National Liberal Party [PNL] stresses, among other things, the following: Without wanting to begin a polemic discussion with President Ion Iliescu, we have to make certain clarifications in connection with his interview on Romanian Television on 7 November 1990. He said that the PNL attitude was contradictory because, on the one hand, it criticized the government for reticence and lack of courage in the application of the reform, while on the other hand, it criticized the government for haste in applying price liberalization. To eliminate any confusion, we want to emphasize the following: The PNL criticized the government for reticence and lack of courage in applying the necessary reforms, which have been long expected. Thus, the problem of the peasants' ownership of lands, the privatization of industry, public services, and trade, and the creation of a free banking system are still just being discussed after five months of governing. The state monopoly is, therefore, intact, competition characteristic of the market economy is nonexistent, while the centralization and bureaucracy of activities is still powerful.

All this has contributed to the deterioration of production factors and, consequently, to a serious decrease in commodity stocks.

Under these circumstances, the almost complete lack of consumer goods means shifting the financial difficulties of the state budget to the budget of each individual family.

We also believe that in his position as chief of state, the president of the republic is above differences in opinion which may arise between parties and the government in the application of the latter's program.

PNL Press Bureau

Taxi Drivers Strike Against Tariff Increase

AU2411150690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1225 GMT 24 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/11/1990—Bucharest taxi drivers called the first strike in Romania against steep rise in tariffs they are obliged to apply following price liberalization.

The "Getax" Administration Board decided a substantial rise in tariffs, up to their doubling. As these rises were artificial—as the Taxi Drivers' Unions opine—the demand for this kind of transport diminished and so did the incomes of the drivers.

Consequently, after long debates, tariffs were reduced by roughly 30 per cent starting Saturday, 24 November, when the taxi drivers' strike ended.

Draft Bill Allows Tenants To Buy Housing

AU2311192490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1753 GMT 23 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/11/1990—The Romanian press put out a draft law, which the government submitted to Parliament, according to which tenants of flats built with state funds have the right to buy their dwellings six months after the respective law has come into force. If they do not opt for buying the flat in the term stipulated by the law, the dwellings may be sold to the population by public auction. These provisions, the draft law shows, shall not apply in case of flats whose tenants have a per-family average monthly income of up to 2,500 lei.

In connection with this draft law, Mr. Nicolae Oteanu, secretary-general of the Romanian Government, told the newspaper "ADEVARUL": We assure all citizens that no one will be driven in the street. The draft law on the buying of state-owned flats, which was recently submitted to Parliament for approval, is only a draft representing the way of thinking of the people who suggested the respective solutions. However, we can reconsider the thinking of those who worked the draft out.

The housing question is a complex one and no one may come up with an accurate solution, to the content of everyone. However, the state should no longer administer the countless assets it is administering now and its whole property should be restituted to the people. Naturally, this cannot be an uncontrolled restitution. There are cases that need special consideration and we assure everyone we will analyse each and every case. However, transfer of administration from the state to private owners should occur, also with a view to better administering the housing stock and to ensuring the transition to a truly democratic society through palpable steps.

Asked whether nationalized dwellings had been put out for sale to allow the former nomenklatura, who resided in them abusively for decades, to buy them, the collocutor said: Former owners and their heirs can regain possession of nationalized houses. In case the law is approved, the auctions will be announced in advance, the dwellings put out for sale being posted, and former owners will be able to participate in these auctions with only half the amount of money set. In case former owners ask for damages, the house whose real cost is of 90 to 100 thousand lei may be sold at auction for 500 thousand lei or more, and half of this amount shall be given to those who owned the houses before nationalization.

Junimea Vatra Romaneasca Established in Cluj

AU2311180090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1801 GMT 23 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/11/1990—The proceedings of a national conference for the creation of the "Junimea Vatra Romaneasca" youth organization opened in Cluj-Napoca on Friday. For three days, the participants will discuss and agree upon the lines of activity of the organization as "a social and cultural association of civic attitude, the aim of which is to contribute to the spiritual rebirth of the Romanian people and to the establishment of a democratic climate for all the sons of the homeland," as a communique of the organizers shows.

Assembly Briefed on Intelligence Activities

AU2311121090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1200 GMT 22 Nov 90

[Report on activities by Romanian Intelligence Service Director Virgil Magureanu at joint session of the Senate and Deputies Assembly in Bucharest on 22 November—recorded]

[Summary From Poor Reception] "I want to mention that our presence with this report at the joint session of the Romanian Parliament is a natural return—which we want to be permanent and as thorough as possible—to placing our institution under the control of the Romanian Parliament. What is at stake is not only placing ourselves under the protection of this high forum of Romanian political power but also the fact that, at this time of historic importance for Romania's progress toward democracy, we have no alternative other than this cooperation because there are urgent problems which cannot be solved except under the aegis of the Parliament and with the unconditional cooperation of the specialized commissions of this high forum."

"One of the characteristic features of the power structures of Western democratic states in the postwar period was the development and proliferation of information and counterespionage services at a level unprecedented in history. In making decisions of national importance, the role of special services increased constantly as did that of secret intelligence services whose necessity

became more and more obvious and which became especially conspicuous during times of international tension and conflicts."

"For a long time, however, the activity of secret services has no longer been linked exclusively to tension or belligerent situations." "In the past, secret services in various states intensified their activity to adapt organizational structures and the objectives of the intelligence activity to the requirements of the current development of the social-political situation both at home and in the international arena."

"Many states coordinate the activity carried out by intelligence and counterespionage services at the national level. They are usually subordinated to the highest levels of the power bodies." "An important role is played by establishing relations between these services and the political power which will permit, on the one hand, an effective information activity and, on the other hand, a limitation of acts of violence."

"The questions addressed today to the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI] demonstrate your interest—as the representatives of the nation—in the activity and role of this new body within the democratic structures in our country whose aim it is to defend the fundamental values of our society."

"With your permission I want to discuss some of the problems which have been and continue to be of general interest." Thus, "numerous questions have been asked in connection with the situation of the files of the former Securitate: Whether SRI has taken them over and what it is doing with them. All the documents of the former State Security Department were placed under the control of the Ministry of National Defense immediately following the revolution."

"The penal cases regarding espionage, treason," "subversive actions," and terrorist actions will be returned to the SRI." "In connection with the situation of the other files of the former Securitate, we want to inform you that they have become archival documents."

"Given the need for a genuine national consensus," "and for diminishing sources of mistrust and tension as well as the spirit of vendetta, and given the way in which other states have solved the problems of the archives of the former communist securitates—as for instance in Germany where all files were blocked for 20 years—the draft law on the organization and functioning of the SRI provides for detailed dispositions in connection with the situation of these documents."

"We believe that limiting access to these documents, with the exception of those providing for compensation rights and measures, would be a natural solution to consolidate the atmosphere of stability. Such a measure would also be in keeping with the principles of the revolution, which have offered equal and nondiscriminatory chances for all citizens of our country, so that they are able to make their contribution to national reconstruction."

Because it does not persecute people, but carries out its activity according to the tasks it faces, "the SRI has not opened any personal files, because the power and tasks it has been given regard solely the obtaining," and "processing of information in connection with domestic and foreign threats for our national security. These files are to be established by the relevant judicial bodies in accordance with the law."

"Another problem of particular interest which the press has often discussed is that of the SRI personnel. In connection with this subject, I want to present to this Parliament a precise situation to provide complete answers to all questions. On 22 December 1989 the former State Security Department totaled 14,259 military cadres which included which 8,159 officers and 5,105 warrant officers and noncommissioned officers, as well as 984 civilian personnel [figures as heard]. Of this total, 8,376 officers and noncommissioned officers were working in information and operational sectors, 3,832 were working in central units, and 4,544 were working in the counties [figures as heard]. The other cadres were carrying out their activity in the Securitate troops—2,859 officers and noncommissioned officers; in technical units—2,588 officers, warrant officers, and noncommissioned officers; and 466 cadres in operational units.

"Of the total personnel of the former State Security Department, 2,841 cadres were removed through the dismantlement of central and territorial units; further 2,769 cadres were put in reserve; 2,896 cadres of the former Securitate troops were taken over by the Ministry of Interior, and 449 were turned into a technical transmission unit by the Ministry of National Defense to ensure government telephone connections.

"After the selection and verification of uncompromised cadres, the SRI took over the well-trained specialized and competent officers attached to our basic national interests. The SRI took over leadership cadres and young officers from the Ministry of National Defense who were properly trained and have the necessary capabilities for this new intelligence body. The selection of cadres also implies a precise assessment of the intellectual abilities and personality features through psychological means.

"The activity of improving the composition of the SRI personnel will also continue in the future, so we can say "that this institution has renewed its personnel" in accordance with the other bodies of the executive apparatus. I would like to inform this high forum that approximately one-quarter—or a little bit more—of the former intelligence apparatus of the Securitate has been taken over by the newly established body. Of them, approximately one- third are officers whose length of service dates back to 1985."

I have documentary material, "about the exact situation of each echelon in the composition of the SRI."

Special interest is shown in "whether telephone conversations are being tapped at this time. I want to go beyond the text of this report to say that the SRI neither has the necessary devises nor the necessary authorization, which is granted only under exceptional circumstances." "I am sorry that my presence in the Parliament coincides also with bad news. We have numerous signs that in some counties and in even in Bucharest such wiretapping is still practiced for purposes we have to clarify." We want to "ask for the support of a special parliament commission for this purpose to definitively deal a blow to such practices. All the devices that were used by the former Securitate to carry out such activities have been completely dismantled and disposed of by the Ministry of National Defense. On 22 December the wiretapping system was dismantled and connecting cables were cut off." The devices and equipment under the control of specialists of the Ministry of National Defense were sealed," and any capability "to put them into operation was eliminated. At this point the SRI has no equipment for such activities."

Specialized cadres of the former Securitate personnel were used for technical examinations which were necessary to investigate cases of espionage and to combat terrorism. "In connection with whether telephone conversations are tapped in Romania" one can also provide "a positive answer, which I did a moment ago." "Considerable" electronic devices "have been brought from outside the country" and there are indications "that they are used." Interested "foreign or domestic organizations and even individuals can use such devices for purposes which can easily be guessed." The SRI has indications in this respect; however, they have to be confirmed on the basis of investigations. For this purpose "I asked for the support and protection of a parliamentary commission."

"I want to inform the Parliament, however, that the task of eliminating such a situation is particularly difficult" because we do not have the "necessary legal authority and proper technical equipment." Therefore, "the SRI needs" the legal approval to "carry out anti-tapping technical control as a measure to prevent both espionage and to protect our citizens against the violation of individual freedoms. The technical possibilities for tapping telephone conversations are numerous and to prevent them—outside the legal framework—a preventive specialized activity is needed."

We do not doubt what certain citizens say in connection with the fact that they received correspondence which had been opened and that the contents of the letters were changed. This is the work of some people who do this intentionally for instigative purposes. The practice of opening letters and parcels at the post office is known. "A special investigation will be needed in this respect." "The SRI is by no means the key to these interceptions, tappings, and control of correspondence." We want "to draw your attention to the real risks" because without proper technical control and combat measures, espionage services or other organizations may use their electronic devices for gathering information wherever their wish "with all the negative consequences for the defense of the country's interests and its security."

"Please do not misunderstand me, we have been afraid and justifiably we are still afraid of the methods used by the Securitate. Along with the renunciation of these practices, however, which violated civic rights and freedoms, we are not allowed to forget the equally realistic need to take the measures that are required in order to defend the basic qualities of the state of law and its democratic institutions.

"The SRI does not threaten anyone, it will not persecute people for their ideological, political, religious, or other convictions. Our ways and methods of activity are—and we want them to be—more and more in accordance with the principles of the state of law."

"Our organization was set up on the basis of Decree No. 181 of 26 March 1990 and the following directions of activity were established:

—"Obtaining information to prevent espionage;
—"Discovering and counteracting the plans of terrorist organizations against Romania;
—"Antiterrorist protection;
—"Discovery and prevention of attacks and subversion;
—"Organizing measures for protecting state secrets and preventing leaks in information and data which are not meant for publicity;
—"Gathering of information to prevent acts of economic undermining;
—"Obtension of information about threats against our internal stability and the order of the law;

"The duties of the intelligence service are of an informative nature, except for some antiterrorist, defense activities, which, along the informative activity, closely involves measures of technical control, guarding and protecting some areas, and ensuring the physical protection of certain persons who are under terrorist threat. As one can note, the Romanian Intelligence Service does not have any power or mission to detain people, make arrests, conduct searches or penal investigation, or to take measures of persecution or repression against people based on their ideological, political, religious, or other conviction. Speaking about terrorism, we cannot avoid the questions asked by the public in connection with the days that followed the revolution. At that day and even three months after, the SRI was still not established. Later, together with the bodies of the Interior Ministry and Prosecutor's Office, we started and continue our investigation to clarify this problem of great significance, to establish the truth, and achieve a national consensus. The threat of terrorism is a widespread international phenomena, it is a permanent threat with which all governments in the world are concerned."

"For geopolitical reasons, terrorist threats have not avoided and will not avoid Romania. From the existing data we can see that in the past decades terrorist organizations and groups from all over the world have been directed against Romania's territory."

"The dangerous increase on a broader plane of nationalism, separatist-autonomous movements, of ethnic or religious conflicts, of all kind of fanaticism, of extremist movements, and anarchy are the foundation on which interested circles and groups can project scenarios, aimed at carrying out terrorist actions in Romania, too. The SRI team in charge of terrorist actions obtained data in connection with the existence on Romanian territory of a great number of people suspected of belonging to foreign extremist-terrorist organizations and we take actions" and "take measures to ensure direct protection of the headquarters of diplomatic missions accredited in Romania and of some diplomats, high foreign dignitaries, or of foreign officials during their presence in our country. The present conditions made possible a broad circulation of people and information, a situation which, as a matter of fact, is favorable to progress and democracy, but which has permanently been used also in the negative sense, through proliferation and increase of political, ethnic, and religious extremism. One should not forget that in our country, extremism—especially rightist extremism—has its roots in the period prior to World War II, which through the committed political assassinations, put Romania among the leading countries with sad records in this area. We should equally be concerned with leftist extremism. Examining the terrorist phenomena in its entirety, shows that the activity of initiating, organizing, and carrying out extremist actions have always been based on the systems of collecting and using information, an activity to which Romanian people were attracted." "We are duty bound to inform the parliament that here is a significant number—hundreds of them—of threats of terrorist action and attempts on the lives of our country's political personalities. We are also in possession of several notifications on suspicious activity which have a paramilitary nature. The great majority show clear terrorist intention based on foreign support. We should note the fact that the danger lies in the fact that concentration of such problems can be found in well defined territorial zones. At this stage we cannot disclose any details in connection with these activities, but their clandestine nature is worrying and requires a very thoroughly organized secret information activity.

"The elimination of the repressive institution of the Ceausescu dictatorship does not mean that the activity of those who from within or from without Romania has ceased and they do not wish to halt the stabilization of our internal life and the progress of the democratic norms which ensure the functioning of the institutions of the whole of Romanian society. In this respect, the espionage services, in whose sphere of interest Romania has been traditionally included, intensified their activity endangering the major political and economic interests of our country and the territorial integrity of the Romanian state.

"From our information we can draw the conclusion that the actions of the espionage services have been directed toward establishing certain contacts within the new structure of our country and introducing foreign agents inside some political formations, trade unions, and other organizations in order to control their activity for destabilizing purposes."

"Those agencies finance under cover certain publications and use them to guide and influence public opinion and penetrate national minority groups to cause artificial tension between them and the majority population, against the background of a separatist-autonomist trend. They recruit people with access to secret data" "in industry, research, and foreign trade, to use them to conclude contracts to the disadvantage of the Romanian side. They penetrate the structures of the Interior Ministry, the Ministry of National Defense, the Foreign Ministry, and the SRI with the aim of carrying out actions against Romania and creating tension which hamper the aforementioned institutions in carrying out their duties of defending independence, sovereignty, integrity, and national security. We also mention the fact that certain intelligence services repeatedly infiltrated their contacts into public manifestations where, as participants, they urged people to violence and openly incited them to activities which run counter to the order of the law with the obvious goal of compromising Romania's prestige and emphasizing its isolation to the outside world.

"From the moment it was established, the SRI has established that over 200 employees and agents of certain foreign intelligence services came to Romania under the cover of certain permanent or temporary missions and is investigating another almost 300 people investigation because they were suspected of belonging to some espionage organization. At the same time, about 150 Romanians who are contacts in the pay of foreign intelligence services need to be further investigated to establish the nature of the activity in which they are involved.

"At the same time, the espionage service concentrated on scores of people, mainly important people or those with promotional prospects who they were investigating to employ them." "Unfortunately, there were enough such actions" "and obstinate actions by the espionage services to stop the activity of Romania's new intelligence body were carried out. We believe that the figures far from express exactly the true state of affairs."

"We believe, gentlemen senators and deputies, that the disillusion you feel at this revelation will determine the parliament to pay the necessary attention and to assist the SRI in improving its duties and will fulfill its needs. As far as legality and domestic social and political

balance and stability are concerned, existing information shows an increasing phenomenon of destabilization.

"Insistent preoccupation abroad aimed at reviving the former Iron Guard organization and its return to the country's political scene has been noticed. Fanatical elements from among former Iron Guard members have intensified the activity of recruiting adherents especially from the youth and other groups. Certain circles and foreign organizations abroad follow the same line encouraging the revival on Romanian territory of extremist organizations among cohabiting nationalities. The estimates made on the basis of existing information show that anti-Romanian actions are coordinated on the basis of certain plans aimed at starting interethnic conflicts with the agreement and support of political and governmental circles abroad. Insisting on the idea that international conventions regarding human rights and the principles of a democratic society have not been observed in Romania, the possibility is not excluded that scenarios are being staged for violent actions, by extremist-terrorist, diversionist, and provocational means, to seriously destabilize the situation in our country and endanger the sovereignty and integrity of the Romanian state.

"It is well known that the whole world concentrates on preventing destructive actions, because it is cheaper to prevent something than to repair the damage that can reach catastrophic proportions. All state firms or smaller or bigger private firms carry out systematic activity to ensure their own security. Under conditions of transition to market economy, when considerable economic values are concentrated in big industrial platforms and combines, many of them could be very vulnerable if they were the object of ill-willed actions. The objective is to defend their security and a specialized body of the state should be in charge of this."

"The SRI, the economic police, the general directorate of customs, and the prosecutor's office obtained an important amount of data which helped prevent prejudices to the national wealth and to control of the state of legality, particularly in the field of food industry, people's supply, trade, transportation, and international economic relations."

"During the recent International Bucharest Fair, some foreign investors, although interested in cooperation, showed reserve precisely because of Romania's vulnerability, due to the lack of necessary safety measures."

"In institutions and enterprises which possess important state secrets, no norms have been applied to ensure the protection of secrets, something that does not happen anywhere in the world."

"The confusion and even noninvolvement of government decisionmakers in the improvement of this situation created vulnerabilities which undoubtedly were taken advantage of, and the consequences of this cannot be assessed yet."

"I want to be completely understood by all of you, gentlemen senators and deputies. There is a difference between spy-phobia and leaving the country's secrets lying around for everybody's access." "Appropriate norms have been established for the organization and operation of the SRI, similar to those which exist in countries with a democratic tradition, which are meant to establish order and legality."

"Very briefly I would like to refer to the events of June 1990. Since its creation, the SRI has been involved in learning about actions which have been directed against national security; however, it did not succeed in evaluating and correctly assessing and foreseeing all situations dangerous to domestic stability. First of all I would like to speak about the moment of violent actions, of an anti-state nature, that occurred on 13 June.

"The analysis made on the basis of the data collected after the events led to the conclusion that the violent actions of 13 June were a link in the chain of destabilizing activities started by certain extremist groups as early as January that pursued political purposes by other than legal means—that is, by actions of force prepared and organized in advance.

"In support of this conclusion, we can quote the violent behavior of the participants, the simultaneous action in several places organized by action groups, the securing in due time of certain means of attack," "the detailed knowledge of the facilities that were attacked and their construction, as well as the consequences that would be entailed by their occupation—that is, the paralysis of the law enforcement forces, which was achieved, the blocking of the government's information system and the use of the television as the most pervasive mass medium for misinformation and for stirring panic and instigation.

"Under the aforementioned circumstances, the response of those who took action to restore the seriously damaged order in the capital was spontaneous, huge, and violent in more than one case. The intelligence data that was collected pointed to the mingling among the miners of law violators who committed violence, theft, and burglary. Also, in the absence of any legal order-keeping force, the miners in some zones assumed the function of controlling road traffic, fight profiteering, and of checking peoples' identity, acting in many cases in an arbitrary manner in searching [parties'] headquarters and detaining certain people.

"Although our service had repeatedly pointed in the days before 13 June 1990 to a possible violent action against state institutions, such signals were virtually lost in the stream of a campaign of incredibly intense ill-willed rumors. The rumors actually prevented the law enforcement bodies from discerning the rational measures to be urgently taken to avoid upsetting the social atmosphere.

"On the eve of the aforementioned events, all political protest movements that deserved that name had withdrawn from the square which remained in fact in the

hands of the underworld that had nothing to do with the struggle for democracy, although it tried to give that appearance. We can even say that the endless disputes between the government and the opposition on the most appropriate ways to ensure a democratic atmosphere in the country, led to a divorce, to a genuine void which—in the absence of a consensus between the opposition and the newly elected bodies regarding the country's quiet—precisely those interested in destabilization and terrorism tried to fill."

"I believe that we all bear a responsibility for what happened at that time, irrespective of the political current we belong to. I also want to insist on the fact that is known to all of us, that no matter how big the differences of views among the various political parties on the most adequate methods to consolidate democracy in our country is, none of us has the right to give free way to extremism and violence, because this would mean annihilating democracy. In this context, being fully aware of the fact that genuine democracy cannot operate in the absence of a consolidated and active opposition, we remind everybody that the SRI does not mean, and it would even be against its rules, to use surveillance or any other kind of operations that would embarrass this opposition in any way. On the contrary, we say it again, we are impartial to any movement, party, or political movement and we are apt to give necessary protection to all those who point to instances of violation of democratic norms, no matter who carries out such actions.

I referred to the 13-15 June events which "caused great suffering to numerous innocent people. These events have greatly harmed the prestige and the assertion of the young Romanian democracy," and not only did tension not lessen, but "the destabilizing phenomenon was fanned again." If there are actions in the country and outside it trying to "weaken" the "potential of achieving national security," then certain attitudes and stances at home, especially by a certain press, are completely surprising; by not revealing "subversive purposes" and the consequences for our national security, the press took over, "without the slightest verification, tendentious news, which favored and preserved a psychosis of global and undifferentiated rejection of the need for intelligence activity."

"It is obvious that attempts have been and continue to be made to either destroy a professional informative structure capable of effective counteraction, or to make it impossible for this structure to carry out its duty. The openness of the SRI activity will be ensured on the basis of the law which will explicitly stipulate the conditions for carrying out intelligence activity, power limits, and sanctions if these limits are exceeded. At the same time, starting from the principle, which is unanimously accepted throughout the world, that the activity of intelligence services is secret, openness does not mean disregard for the regulations on protecting state secrets as stipulated by law. An examination of the practices of countries with long-standing democratic traditions convincingly demonstrates that no state—irrespective of size, political regime, geographic location, and alliance system—has been able and is able to do without a specialized and effective intelligence service to defend and protect basic national assets.

"It is not accidental that the most powerful Western democracies have the most perfect intelligence and counterespionage services. It is known that the CIA and FBI are among the most redoubtable secret services in the world and the continuous improvement of the American democracy has constantly contributed to their strengthening and not their dismantling, and no one questions the compatibility of their existence with democracy. Moreover, the essential summit decisions of the U.S. Administration depend on these bodies to such an extent that in their absence the whole decision-making process would have to be rethought. As a matter of fact, it is known that certain peoples, especially the English and Israelis, have a national cult for their secret services and grant them all their support and take care to preserve their prestige.

"The Swiss people—and not only they—have such a mentality so that in maximum a few minutes any suspicious foreign automobile is reported to the specialized bodies. In other Western states, the secret services exert—for the purpose of protecting democracy—an extremely strict control over foreigners and locals suspected of anti-state actions and in extreme situations they do not hesitate to resort to extremely harsh procedures.

"Under the current circumstances—in order to ensure our country's social, economic, and political stability, as well as the peace and order necessary for the existence and independent development of the Romanian state—it is very imperative to adopt the proper legal framework to protect Romania's national security. In this respect, the draft bills were prepared to which I referred in this report.

"Messrs. Senators and Deputies, I have presented a correct image of the problems faced by our state's national security, of certain problems confronting the RSI, and of part of the results and nonfulfillment of its activity.

"Thank you for your attention. I am at your disposal for further clarifications." [applause]

* FSN's Handling of Trade Union Issue Examined

* ROMANIA LIBERA Criticism

91BA0070A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 30 Oct 90 p 1

[Anton Uncu article: "Who Is Flirting With Social-Democracy"]

[Text] The intention of the National Salvation Front [NSF] to exhibit social-democratic ideals is no doubt

laudable. On condition that it does not begin to approximate, in its characteristic manner, the moral and political values of European social-democracy. Just as it tried and largely succeeded in abrogating the moral and political capital of the most radical antitotalitarian and anticommunist revolution in East Europe: the Romanian Revolution of December 1989. The Front managed to claim and discredit these values throughout the ten months that have elapsed since then. Because if we look carefully at who were and who are many of those who, in the poet's words, "give us laws and levy taxes, and talk to us about philosophy," social-democracy is the last thing that comes to mind. Especially after the middle of June, when the newly installed power showed to the entire world that it was incapable to lead the country by democratic means.

The Social Democratic Party [SDP] of Romania publicly and categorically rejected the Front's direct or veiled attempts tp draw it within its sphere of political interests. This rejection should not be viewed as something incidental without a specific motivation. The Front is systematically putting the same kind of pressure on the trade unions, whom it wants to convert to pro-Front political options. It is even interested in establishing an extensive social-democratic trade union confederation. If this is the NSF's tactic, we have to ask ourselves whether the Front itself indeed has firm social-democratic ideas, or whether this flirting with social-democracy is not a temporarily convenient tactic?

Toward the middle of this month, the Italian Communist Party [PCI] changed its name into the Left-Wing Democratic Party. Symptomatic, isn't it? At a time when all the East European communist parties changed their names while lamentably losing their leading role, the PCI also changed its seriously tarnished name. As a symbol of solidarity? As a sign of recognition of the bancruptcy of an ideology? Or as a tactical maneuver designed to ensure its continuity without incurring criticism for all the demonstrated ills of communism? Hard to say. The fact is that simultaneously with its name change, the PCI also gave up its claim to the leadership and political guidance of a relatively large segment of the Italian leftist movement. Moreover, it did so with the formal or real support of its dedicated leaders. What should we, Romanians, believe about the NSF, which is not a communist party, but which aims at nothing more nor less than the "political absorption" of the trade union movement, at "establishing the first trade unions that will join the NSF and whose leaders will be included in the NSF's county coordination councils?" What are we expected to think about the Front when it is using methods and tactics specific of the former communist parties that even they are abandoning?

But let's assume that such methods are not characteristic of the communist parties, that they may be encountered in other parties or political groups, including the social-democrats. Then why should the NSF be worried that the Romanian trade union may become "a self-motivated political force like Solidarity?" And why should it be that, we quote, "in such a situation the NSF's losses would be incalculable?" And not so much why, as what is the political position that prompts the Front to make such a statement? What is the real reason that the Front is worried about the potential threat of a trade union movement that contributed infinitely more to Polish democracy and to East Europe in general than the Front did?

We have not forgotten that immediately after the December Revolution the Front leaders were trying to persuade us that they were a social and political liberation movement of the same type as the Czechoslovak Civic Forum or Poland's Solidarity. Naturally, they failed to convince us even then, because both the Solidarity leaders and the movement as such had won legitimacy in the eyes of the Polish people through protests and concrete activities carried out over a long period of time against communism. They did not come to their present place in Poland's political life by accident, at a moment of power vacuum, or informed by neighbors or colleagues that a revolution had broken out in the country. They themselves organized and led the revolution. That is precisely why the revolution was not a bloody one in Czechoslovakia or Poland like in Romania. Don't anyone tell me that I forgot the 20 May elections. No, I did not forget them. The electorate voted for the Front and enabled the Front to win, and the electorate is the country. And the country must be respected. The question is what the difference is between the Front that felt flattered to be compared with Solidarity, even if the comparison was forced, and the present Front which thinks that a self-motivated Solidarity-type trade union may cause it "incalculable losses?" The Polish authorities were afraid of Solidarity before the revolution, and for good reasons. But those authorities were communist authorities. Does the present NSF leaders want to make us believe that in fact they continue to be communists? Because if that is the case, there is absolutely no point in the efforts made by some of them to fabricate heroical autobiographies and brandish the idea of a coup d'etat last December. Yes, there may well have been some kind of a coup, but it was not against the Communist dictatorship in Romania; the coup came after the pure Revolution of December and was directed against its anticommunist ideals. If it weren't for all these "details," the Front's intention to claim social-democratic ideals might have been credible...

* AZI Rebuttal

91BA0070A Bucharest AZI in Romanian 3 Nov 90 pp 1, 3

[Claudiu Iordache article: "The Exercise of Freedom"]

[Text] Under the column "The Exercise of Freedom," ROMANIA LIBERA's editorial article of 30 October, "Who Is Flirting With Social-Democracy," requested not a riposte but just a few answers:

Mr. Anton Uncu (who, unfortunately, as far as I'm concerned, is only a nine letters person), developed a certain line of political analysis which managed to express critical doubts by throwing together vague statements and original juxtapositions. I might have been tempted to believe that the same intervention would have met with a completely different success if it had not rested on only one source of information.

One of my duties is to ensure correct communication with the entire Romanian Free Press and I think I must be partially to blame when I see that an independent newspaper as reputable as ROMANIA LIBERA still doesn't know who we are, where we are, and what we want.

If nothing else, that was reason enough for a reaction from me.

Upon my word, Mr. Anton Uncu, do you really believe that we really are claiming what is not ours in the matter you raised?

"On condition that it does not try to claim, in its characteristic manner, the moral and political values of European social-democracy."

Maliciously, no doubt! The FSN doesn't have the sticky fingers you think it does. It is true that it has progressed toward a better self-understanding and that its attitudes have become more confident, but no one needs to be afraid of the open hand fate has reached out to Romanian social-democracy; the hand did not reach out in order to discredit both the practice and the idea, but because the gesture itself is an effect of its aspirations! Especially now, "When the newly installed authorities demonstrated to the entire world that they were incapable of leading the country by democratic means."

As for the SDP, I am qualified to state that the NSF made not the slightest attempt against the minuscule SDP, whose existence and influence we greatly respect, in spite of its temporary or tactical flirting with the representative of the opposite of its basic tenets. Consequently, the SDP has no reason to publicly and categorically reject attempts that were never made!

On the other hand, the Front, Mr. Anton Uncu, is not systematically pressuring the trade unions, "which it wants to convert to pro-Front political options," but it did want and indeed continues to pursue a clarification of the political options of the main trade union confederations in Romania. We must not allow ourselves to be seduced by hypocrisy and must admit that already there are differences among those options, for example between the National Confederation of Free Romanian Trade Unions and Fratia. Some are slightly to the "left," others even to the "right," and it's just as well that they decided to be what they are, but the public should know about it. Naturally, in our turn, we hope that the trade unions will be not "pro-Front," but social-democratic. Tell your readers what you know about the European social-democratic trade union movement. Tell them that France has three major trade unions (a communist one, a socialist one, and a center one), that England's Labor government rested on the General Trade Unions, or that in German the social-democratic trade unions are the source of power of the social-democratic party, and so forth.

As for ourselves, there is only one thing we want to tell the National Trade Union Movement: "Even if we are marching along a parallel path, we are traveling in the same direction, on the path toward ensuring social and political protection for the situation of the workers."

Mr. Anton Uncu, now that the Reform is beginning, we all know that it will first of all trigger an inevitable and undesirable social crisis for which the current government is not responsible. Simply put, the reform will reactivate the resistance to change of certain social categories that are temporarily (?!) incapable to defend themselves against its consequences! Any party left of the Front could reap the political effects of these inconveniences, but there is no significant party left of the Front!

There is still the Trade Union Resistance, which, between the temptation of the reform and the rejection of the reform could choose to go into opposition against the reform. In very broad lines, this is the possibility that we indeed fear, because such a development (of which I think the trade unionist leadership is also aware) can indeed mark a step backwards and remove us even farther from the reform.

In such a case the losses would indeed be incalculable for all of us.

And don't forget that the Communist Party has reappeared in Bulgaria, while ours is silent.

Although it does exist!

And finally, this: "Unless the present NSF leaders want to lead us to believe that they actually continue to be Communists," leads me to believe that you still love us, since your accusation sounds like that of a person who has suffered disappointment!

We are not Communists, Mr. Anton Uncu, and we never will be, as long as we are guided by the authority of dignity and reason!

It is now your turn to demonstrate intellectual tolerance and to wait—while remaining vigilant and circumspect—until the next election, when what we are will emerge more clearly: a center-left party, now situated in the eye of the national storm as the power elected for an eternity that in politics is strictly ephemeral!

Serb Assembly Rejects Electoral Law Amendments

AU2611143890 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Nov 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Law Guarantees Democratic Elections"]

[Excerpt] After a three-hour discussion, the delegates of the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Serbian Assembly yesterday rejected by a majority vote amendments to the Law on Election of People's Deputies, the Constitutional Law, and the Law on Electoral Units proposed by a group of delegates.

The proposed amendments were aimed at changing the composition of the electoral commissions, postponing elections, extending deadlines for nominating candidates for people's deputies and the president of the republic, and enabling our workers abroad to vote.

Explaining the stand of the republican Executive Council, Njegovan Kljajic, republican secretary for legislation, said that changes in the composition of the electoral commission raises the question of the very concept of the Law on Election of People's Deputies which is based on the constitutional principles on the role and position of citizens as bearer of sovereignty and decision-making. In a fairly lengthy explanation, Kljajic stressed that the present Constitution of Serbia was not made for parties but for all citizens of Serbia. If the proposed amendments were accepted they could have serious consequences for the upcoming elections.

However, the law itself would not be a problem for some members of the electoral commissions to be members of other parties, but they have to be accountable to the state, not political parties, Kljajic said, adding that the proposals formulated in such a way imply doubts in the existing law.

Taking part in the discussion, Zoran Sokolovic, president of the Serbian Assembly, said that some parties have been exerting pressure on the work of this body for some time, and that this was often done in a very imprudent manner.

At the time when the citizens of Serbia need peace and stability, 15 days before the elections some parties are again disturbing them with accusations against the work of the Serbian Assembly. In expressing their doubts in the regularity of the upcoming elections they are not using any valid arguments, Sokolovic said, adding that he spoke as a man and delegate, and not a member of the party whose aim is to be honest before the people.

Those who are expressing doubts in the fairness of the elections are not willing to read the Law on the Election of People's Deputies carefully. The law was made for all citizens of Serbia and not for parties. Such a law guarantees full equality of everybody in the upcoming elections, the equality of both parties and free nominators of candidates. This law guarantees the broadest democratic procedure and supervision of the elections themselves. All nominators are equal, regardless of whether they are taking part in the elections with 10 or 250 candidates for people's deputies, Sokolovic stressed. [passage omitted]

Debate on Election Law Reopened 26 Nov

LD2611150990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1317 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Nov (TANJUG)—The parliament of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia decided on Monday [26 November] to reopen a debate on the law on the elections scheduled for 9 December.

On Thursday, the parliament rejected the five amendments proposed by the opposition parties which demanded, among other things, that the polling committees be composed of the representatives of all the parties which have put up their candidates.

The parliament's decision follows on an announcement by the majority of opposition parties that they will boycott the elections. The decision on the boycott has greatly strained political conditions in the republic.

The parliament decided this morning that the republican government should meet again and state its opinion on the controversial opposition demands.

A group of deputies last night also demanded that the parliament discuss a move to replace leading figures on Belgrade Television and in the republic's largest newspaper publishing house, POLITIKA. The deputies were dissatisfied with the way the media covered the election campaign.

Changes Adopted; More Participation Allowed

LD2611195690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1744 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Nov (TANJUG)—All parties and groups of citizens who put forward candidates for Assembly deputies and the republican president, provided they put forward candidates in more than a third of the elections units in the Republic, can take part in the work of election commissions, including the counting of votes.

This substantial change to the election law was almost unanimously endorsed today by the Serbian Assembly. The changes are adopted at the demand of a group of delegates who called on the Assembly to reconsider the issue to defuse the serious election crisis created by the announced boycott of the elections.

The Assembly has also approved proposals by the republican Executive Council that the deadline for renewal of the withdrawn candidacies and for registering new ones is 72 hours from the moment the changed law comes into force.

The proposal that the elections be postponed until 23 December was rejected. Thus, the previously set date, 9 December, remains the date of the Serbian elections.

Executive Council Agrees to Changes

LD2611171690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1617 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Nov (TANJUG)—At today's session, the Serbian Executive Council endorsed the proposed changes to the electoral law enabling parties and groups of citizens who have put forward candidates for Assembly deputies and the republican president to take part in the work of election commissions at all levels, from the municipal to the republican.

A group of 10 delegates of the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Serbian Assembly proposed amendments to the law.

Parties which put forward candidates for people's deputies in more than a third of election units in the republic will have the right not just to supervise, but also to take part in the work of election commissions, including the counting of votes.

YU-Bloc Expresses 'Relief'

LD2711043690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2052 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 26 Nov (TANJUG)—The coordinating council of the YU-bloc this evening decided to call on its member-parties to contest the 9 December election in Serbia.

In a statement the bloc, which includes the Party of Yugoslavs [Stranka Jugoslovena], the Party of National Concord [Stranka Narodne Sloge], the Workers' Party of Yugoslavia [Radnicka Partija Jugoslavije], the Yugoslav Socialist Democratic Party [Jugoslovenska Socijalisticka Demokratska Stranka], the Democratic Pedagogical Party [demokratska pedagoska stranka], and the Prizren-based Democratic Reform Alliance of Muslims [Demokratski Reformski Savez Muslimna], says it has received with relief the news that the Serbian Assembly has finally displayed political maturity and has adopted amendments to the electoral law. [passage omitted]

Serbian St. Sava Party Agrees To Run

LD2711044790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2103 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Summary] Belgrade 26 Nov (TANJUG)—Zarko Gavrilovic, chairman of the Serbian St. Sava Party [Srpska Svetosavska Stranka], stated during a party political broadcast on Belgrade Television that his party will run in the forthcoming elections. The decision was made, he explained, in light of the Serbian Assembly endorsement of changes to the electoral law today.

Opposition Reaffirms Election Nonparticipation

LD2611163490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1440 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Novi Sad, 26 Nov (TANJUG)—Even if the Serbian Assembly adopts the proposed amendments which we are advocating at this moment, we will not take part in the elections scheduled for 9 December, it was said at today's news conference organized by representatives of eight opposition parties in Novi Sad.

For them to take part in the elections, the lawyer Radonja Bulatovic, a member of the main committee of the People's Radical Party, stressed, they must be postponed at least until the end of January. This period of time is needed for us, but also all citizens, to be able to prepare so that the elections are truly successful and democratic.

Bulatovic concluded that in the elections, the opposition has nothing to lose, but our only aim is that those who do not have the good of Serbia at heart lose.

The representatives of the opposition parties sent a telegram of support to the independent trade unions of Belgrade Television, stressing that their demands for the replacement of the managers of Belgrade Television are justified and that the opposition parties with their 3 million members support them.

Serb Electoral Commission Reports on Candidacies

LD2611164390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1326 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Nov (TANJUG)—According to the republican Electoral Commission's latest reports revealed to journalists today, the candidacies of 19 candidates for the republic's president were endorsed while the candidacies of three candidates had been turned down since they did not meet the conditions of the electoral law. In the course of the day the candidacies of two more presidential candidates should be endorsed while ten candidates have given up their candidacies.

The journalists, who asked whether the candidates for presidents and deputies who had withdrawn their candidacies could reinstate their candidacies in the event that the republican Assembly, which is in session today, accepts the opposition's amendments, were told that the same candidates as well as the new candidates might stand.

As for the deadline, in case the amendments of the opposition parties were accepted, it would be set by the republican Assembly. It was stated that all foreign institutions which were interested in observing the elections had been invited to do so while their representatives would be enabled to enjoy the best conditions for this.

Draskovic Decides Not To Run for Serb President

AU2611150890 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Nov 90 p 1

[TANJUG report: "The Republican Electoral Commission on Candidates for Deputies and President"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The republican Electoral Commission yesterday confirmed the following candidates for the president of Serbia: Hercen Radonjic, an economist from Crvenka (nominated by a group of citizens); Radivoje Sarenac, a lawyer from Belgrade (nominated by the Republican Party); Ratomir Vojvodic, a lawyer from Belgrade (nominated by a group of citizens); and Jovan Stojkovic, "unemployed," from Leskovac (nominated by a group of citizens).

Vuk Draskovic, Zivan Haravan, Tihomir Zivanovic, Blazo Perovic, Ivan Djuric, Nikola Barovic, and Predrag Vuletic withdrew their candidature for the president of Serbia (and the commission approved it).

Belgrade Artists Withdraw From Serbian Elections

LD2711022190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1524 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Nov (TANJUG)—The following artists are running as independent candidates for the Serbian Assembly: Momcilo Dimic, Nikola Kusovac, Milutin Popovic Zahar, Minja Subota, Dragoljub Tomic, Sava Sarlan, Miladin Sevarlic, and Branko Milicevic.

The list of possible candidates who are artists has been reduced from 17 to eight names. This, as explained today in the Belgrade cultural and educational community, does not mean that artists who have withdrawn their names are motivated by the announced boycott of the forthcoming elections. The main reason for withdrawing their candidacies is a deep suspicion of the regularity of the forthcoming elections.

All artists whose names were put forward in election units outside Belgrade withdrew their names. Among them is Adam Puslojic, who spoke about difficulties that artists face beginning with the lack of registration forms and ending with the threats of dismissal.

He stressed that Belgrade Television in particular manipulated an appeal by independent candidates that was read out by director Petar Zec. "The appeal was combined with items calling on citizens to vote in the elections." The message of the appeal is, however, "that all conditions for legal and democratic changes must be created urgently."

Serbia's Radmilovic Discusses Federation's Future

LD2211025990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo CROATIAN 1314 GMT 21 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Novi Sad, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—Serbia has the best conditions to survive on its own and the least reason to fight for a federal Yugoslavia if others do not want it. This was said today in the Novi Sad Jugoalat Factory by Serbian Prime Minister Dr. Stanko Radmilovic. However, if we do work for Yugoslavia as a federation, this will not be done out of charity or to the detriment of Serbia, he said.

However, there are many good reasons for the survival of the federation, especially the great number of Serbs who live outside their home republic. For instance, in Croatia, where everything is done to assimilate them. These issues, as indeed many other important issues, can be resolved best and most rapidly in a federation, in which Serbia will not be inferior, as she has been up until now.

Dr. Stanko Radmilovic mentioned that quite a few questions had recently been addressed to the republican government on whether we should confront the Federal Executive Council [FEC] or whether the federal government should be brought down because of the policy it is pursuing. We do not favor something like that, said Radmilovic, but restricting payments to the federal treasury will change and improve this situation.

To avoid threats to the investment cycles in Serbia, stressed Radmilovic, we decided that instead of 75 percent of turnover tax earmarked for the federal budget, we shall pay only 50 percent. If recession goes on, we shall be even more restrictive.

The republican prime minister added that the FEC will not be able to stick to its reform concept. It will inevitably have to change it. If it does not do that, there will be no federal government, while Serbia will see its development program through.

It is surprising, Radmilovic remarked, that the FEC blames the growth of personal income for revived inflation. How can this be put on trial, when during the past nine months, compared with the same period last year, real wages dropped by almost one fifth, asked Radmilovic. [passage omitted]

Montenegrin Party Head Sees Possible Serb Unity

LD2611161290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1503 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Nov (TANJUG)—Leader of the National Party of the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro Novak Kilibarda today said that, in case of Yugoslavia's disintegration, the republics of Montenegro and Serbia could form a federation made up of two equal members.

Addressing a news conference in Belgrade, Kilibarda said he believed his party would either win the December 9 elections in Montenegro or at least end up as the second strongest party in the new parliament.

Kilibarda's National Party is the strongest opposition party in Montenegro.

Montenegrin Commission Ends Presidency Nominations

LD2111114890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1553 GMT 20 Nov 90

[Text] Titograd, 20 Nov (TANJUG)—Candidates for president of the Montenegrin Presidency are Dr. Novak Kalibarda, from the People's Party [Narodna Stranka]; Dr. Ljubisa Stankovic, from the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia for Montenegro; and Momir Bulatovic, from the League of Communists.

Proposals for their candidacies were submitted to the republican Electoral Commission in this order, and they were in such a sequence announced at a news conference today by commission president, Radojko Djuricanin.

Sixteen candidates were proposed as members of the Montenegrin Presidency, including two independent candidates: Dr. Slobodan Vujacic, from Niksic, and Dr. Sefket Krcic, from Plav.

Proposed lists of candidates, according to Djuricanin, were submitted at the last moment before deadline last midnight. Political parties and citizens can no longer propose new candidates nor can new combinations of candidates from the present proposals be made.

Macedonian 2d-Round Election Results Announced

LD2711050990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2008 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Skopje, 26 Nov (TANJUG)—At a news conference this evening, the Macedonian Election Commission stated that 68 deputies were elected to the new republican parliament in the second round of voting held yesterday. In the first round, held 18 November, 13 deputies were elected. Thus, 81 deputies out of 120 have been elected so far.

The VMRO-DPMNE [Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] is the strongest with 31 elected deputies, on 25.83 percent of the total. The Macedonian LC-Party for Democratic Transformation follows with 21 deputies, and then the Party for Democratic Prosperity [Partija za Demokratski Prosperitet] with 13 deputies. The Alliance of Reformist Forces (SRSJ) won eight seats on its own, and five more in coalition with the Democratic Youth Party [Mlada Demokratska Stranka] and the Macedonian Socialist Party [socijalisticka partija makedonije]. On its own, the Macedonian Socialist Party won three seats.

The final results of yesterday's second round of voting and of the repeated voting for 39 empty seats will be known tomorrow. The Macedonian Election Commission said that 79.34 percent of registered voters took part in the second round of voting, and 80.51 percent in the repeated first round.

Macedonia's Gosev Views Second Round of Elections

AU2311205390 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 18 Nov 90 p 10

[Report on interview with Petar Gosev, president of the League of Communists of Macedonia-Party for Democratic Transformation by Dragan Djuric; place and date not given: "We Are a Macedonian Party"]

[Excerpts] In the first round of elections in Macedonia, Petar Gosev, leader of the Macedonian communists, secured his seat in the future multiparty parliament of Macedonia, winning over 70 percent of votes in his constituency. Considering that his party is in the best position, although this is according to still incomplete and unofficial results, it is certain that he is a politician who will have important influence on the future course of politics in Macedonia. [passage omitted]

[Djuric] Who will be your most dangerous rival in the second round of elections, a Macedonian nationalist party, the VMRO-DPMNE [the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity], or the Alliance of Reform Forces?

[Gosev] Probably the Alliance of Reform Force, like in the first round. An increase in the VMRO-DPMNE's chances cannot be ruled out, because attempts are being made in Macedonia to create an atmosphere of heated national passions, which is something that helps nationalist parties, above all the VMRO-DPMNE.

[Djuric] Will the success of the Albanian Party of Democratic Prosperity turn some voters away from you and toward the VMRO-DPMNE?

[Gosev] I think that this will have some influence. It is difficult to assess it at present, but it is obvious that the two extremes feed each other.

[Djuric] In a statement by your party's Presidium, you expressed a very sharp attitude toward the Party of Democratic Prosperity. You said that this Albanian party had not passed the democracy examination at the elections. How should one understand this, as part of the election campaign with which you are trying to reduce the opportunities of the national parties?

[Gosev] We did not react sharply only to the actions of the Party of Democratic Prosperity but also to the Macedonian National Bloc. We also reacted to the slogans which were shouted at meetings: "Death to Albanians"; "Death to Serbs," and so forth. Therefore,

we told both sides that this is not a policy that could be good for the republic. [passage omitted]

[Djuric] If you play a significant role in future decision-making in parliament, which direction will Macedonian politics take? Which concept will be favored—a federal or a confederal agreement?

[Gosev] I personally think that it would be good for Yugoslavia to remain a federal state from the economic, political, and military viewpoints. However, as things stand, this concept has little chance. In such a situation, Macedonia must have its own orientation and position. Therefore, if two republics demand a confederal status for themselves, Macedonia will demand this too.

A Real Reform Program

[Djuric] If you retain a favorable result in the second round of voting, will you personally stand for president of the republic?

[Gosev] We do not want to talk about that yet. We will cross that bridge when we come to it. It is essential that the party wins, but there are many solutions as regards the president.

[Djuric] It is being assessed that a victory for the communists could in some way isolate Macedonia, particularly from the international viewpoint. What do you say to that?

[Gosev] This is nothing but stupidity and cheap tricks by political parties which do this maliciously or do not acknowledge the circumstances. We have had talks with several Western diplomats, ambassadors, and consuls.... None of them said that the program of the League of Communists of Macedonia-Party for Democratic Transformation is unacceptable. [passage omitted]

[Djuric] You have changed your symbols. Your flag is blue with a yellow star and a social-democratic red rose. Will the party also change its name?

[Gosev] We will hold a party congress soon after the elections and we will then finally decide on the name of the party and its symbols. [passage omitted]

First Round Bosnian Election Results Announced

AU2611143490 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 24 Nov 90 p 1

[D. Stanisic report: "All Accounts Closed"]

[Excerpt] All perplexities concerning the results of the first round of multiparty elections in Bosnia-Hercegovina were over yesterday. The following have secured places in the republican Presidency: Fikret Abdic and Alija Izetbegovic from the Party of Democratic Action; Biljana Plavsic and Nikola Koljevic from the Serbian Democratic Party; Stjepan Kljujic and Franjo Boras from the Croatian Democratic Community; and Ejup Ganic who represents other peoples and nationalities, although he was put forward as a candidate by the Party of Democratic Action.

The official results of the Bosnian elections, which were held last Sunday [18 November], were announced at a news conference yesterday. The election of deputies to the Chamber of Citizens is completed. A total of 130 deputies were elected out of the 1,077 candidates who entered the elections. In terms of the number of deputy seats won, the most successful was the Party of Democratic Action (41). The Party of Democratic Action is followed by the Serbian Democratic Party (34) and the Croatian Democratic Community (20). Behind them are the League of Communists of Bosnia-Socialist Democratic Party (13); the Alliance of Reform Forces with 11, the League of Communists of Bosnia-Democratic and the Democratic Socialist Alliance (five); the Alliance of Reform Forces and the Democratic Party of Mostar (one); The Muslim Bosniak Organization (two); the Democratic Alliance and the EKO Green Movement (one); the League of Socialist Youth—Democratic Alliance of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the EKO Movement (one); and the Democratic Socialist Alliance (one).

Elections for the Chamber of Communes on 2 December

The elections of the deputies for the Chamber of Communes in the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina are still not complete. The first round of elections produced 62 deputies out of a total of 110 deputies (out of 474 candidates) that are being elected for this chamber. The second round, which will be held on 2 December, will produce 47 deputies more, that is, 48 deputies, considering that elections will be repeated in Sarajevo. [passage omitted]

Preparations for Kosovo Elections Under Way

AU2311102690 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Nov 90 p 2

["R.B."-signed report: "So That Everything Is as it Should Be"]

[Text] Pristina—Elections for the president of the republic and people's deputies in the region of Kosovo and Metohija will be carried out in 34 constituencies. One week before 9 December (when the elections are due to take place), everything will be ready for the elections to be carried out "as they should be and according to the law."

This was told to representatives of communal electoral commissions at a consultative meeting held in Pristina yesterday at which some dilemmas and points of confusion over the electoral process were cleared up.

Caslav Ignjatovic, representative of the republican Electoral Commission, said that no one can be nominated in two constituencies but only in one. If there are more names circled on a ballot paper than are due to be elected, then the ballot paper is invalid. An elder

member of a family does not have the right to vote on behalf of the other members of the household.

The Electoral Committee must work at full capacity because the elections will be monitored by special commissions. All polling stations will be closed at 1900 [1800 GMT] and the results of the voting for president of the republic and the people's deputies will be announced in the whole Republic of Serbia after 48 hours, Ignjatovic said.

In reply to a question on who is financing the elections, Ignjatovic said that this was not a problem since the finance came from the republic's budget.

Markovic Interviewed on Situation in Kosovo

LD2611153490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1253 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Pristina, 26 Nov (TANJUG)—Ante Markovic, president of the FEC [Federal Executive Council] has stated in an interview with the Pristina Albanian-language paper SKENDIJA, that the FEC will involve itself directly in the establishment of the functioning of a rule-of-law state in Kosovo. According to him, people in certain departments are already doing this, and they should stay in Kosovo at least once a week because it is the aim of the federal government to normalize the situation in this province as much as possible.

Ante Markovic believes that a precondition for solving the current problems in a democratic way is the holding of free multiparty elections. The homogenization which has reached a peak in Kosovo—both among Albanians and among Serbs—can be overcome over a long period in which the conditions would be created for the renewed identification of the interests of both sides, but in which emotions and national appetites should in no way dominate, Markovic said.

Speaking about the obstacles placed in the way of the FEC by many federal units, Ante Markovic cited as an illustration the case of the failure to broadcast his address to delegates of the Federal Assembly by (?Belgrade Radio) and TV. No one can persuade me that the heads of state of Croatia and Serbia were not aware of this and the obstacles placed in my way as president of the FEC, Markovic stated. As for the information blockade, even those in the federation are not in a better position than Kosovo, Markovic said.

Markovic did not reply in concrete terms to most of the questions as to why the FEC is silent with regard to Kosovo, but, SKENDIJA writes, Ante Markovic asked the journalists not to publicize some of his conversation about "sensitive issues". Markovic himself described the interview as "a mutual process of familiarization and informing one another," and he promised them a more wide-ranging interview following the free elections.

Police Seizures of Arms in Kosovo Reported

LD2611165490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1453 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Pristina, 26 Nov (TANJUG)—From April until the beginning of November of this year the internal affairs organs seized a large amount of firearms and explosives in Kosovo and Metohija. Since April, when the Internal Affairs Secretariat of the Republic of Serbia took over the duties within the competence of the provincial internal affairs secretariat, the police have seized one submachine gun, five machine guns, 129 guns, 193 pistols, eight hand grenades and 111 sticks of explosives. In most cases the weapons were found on persons of Albanian nationality.

These figures were revealed today at a news conference in Pristina given by representatives of the special units of Serbia's Internal Affairs Secretariat. According to their report, in the course of this month alone one machine gun, one rifle, one Kalashnikov, and 14 guns (10 of these were stun guns) have so far been seized.

Kosovar Party Criticizes Jovic's CSCE Speech

LD2311154990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1158 GMT 23 Nov 90

[Text] Pristina, 23 Nov (TANJUG)—Rumors about possible unrest among Albanians in Kosovo for Albania National Day on 28 November are untrue. This was stated by Ibrahim Rugova, Kosovo Democratic Alliance [Demokratski Savez Kosova—DSK] chairman, at a press conference today. Rugova called these rumors police slanders and went on to conclude that naming him as the organizer of these alleged unrests was done from malicious motives.

He called on DSK members not to be taken by the rumors whose aim is, according to him, to provoke Albanians because this is what the Serbian authorities want to happen to win the forthcoming elections. Rugova again accused the Serbian authorities of mistreating Albanian school children and instructed teachers in schools conducting classes in Albanian to follow strictly the Kosovo curriculum.

The DSK leader then denied rumors that either he or anyone else from the party leadership contacted representatives of (?the Serbian authorities), stressing that "the Serbian leadership shows no signs of willingness to negotiate." Commenting on the recent promotion meeting of the League of Communists the Movement for Yugoslavia [SK-Pokret za Jugoslavi ju], Rugova said that if the party's objective is to preserve the Army then it signals nothing good because the Army must adapt to democratic changes in society. If it does not, Rugova holds, [words indistinct]

Rugova criticized Jovic's CSCE speech in Paris for not "objectively portraying" the situation in Kosovo. According to Rugova, Jovic "used Kosovo whenever and in whichever way he wanted."

Rugova also commented on Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's Nis speech and labeled Milosevic's calls for peace as demagoguery. Fehmi again assessed Vuk Draskovic's speeches as of varied quality.

Rugova thinks that in keeping with the current federal constitution, 29 November should remain a state holiday. He also confirmed that the DSK will boycott the forthcoming elections in Serbia and stressed that he is only interested in elections in Kosovo.

He assessed as ludicrous rumors that he will set fire to himself on 28 November [Albanian National Day].

Journalists were given a statement of the Pristina-based Committee for the Protection of Human Rights and Liberties protesting at, as stated, a continued wave of criminal and other legal persecutions in Kosovo by the Serbian authorities.

Slovene Assembly Postpones Referendum Discussion

AU2111162490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Nov 90

[Dragoslav Kosaric report from Ljubljana—recorded]

[Text] Even though it had been announced, the Assembly of Slovenia is still not discussing a referendum, that is to say, it has been decided that this be discussed only once the Constitutional Commission has submitted a proposed law on a referendum to the Assembly. The Constitutional Commission has been hurriedly preparing this document since this morning.

The Constitutional Commission has decided that in the referendum, voters are not to vote on an autonomous [samostalna] Slovenia but on an independent [nezavisna] Slovenia.

Representatives of the Liberal Democratic Party have been proposing that a decision should be made on secession to avoid speculation, because the common aim is an autonomous [samostalna] seceded Slovenia. It was explained that secession is the only way to autonomy [samostalnost]. The Liberals think that the proposal is legally improper because of the international (?consequences) of a referendum

[Words indistinct] there was also discussion on the majority that is necessary for the result of the referendum to be accepted. Most members of the Constitutional Commission thought that because of the importance of this act, a majority of all voters registered on voters lists was necessary. The commission will propose that the alternative of the so-called simple majority be discussed by the Assembly, that is to say, for the result of the referendum to be binding the majority of voters who have voted in the referendum would have had to vote for one of the options.

Polemics arose because of the fourth point in the proposed law on a referendum which says that after the referendum, the Assembly will endorse all the necessary acts and measures connected with the result. The Party of Democratic Transformation proposed that it should be written into the law that it is necessary to pass constitutional laws for this and adopt these measures with a two-thirds majority.

After this, the president of the Assembly, Dr. France Bucar appealed to former communists not to complicate the adoption of the law on a referendum because work is not possible without the consensus of the ruling coalition and the opposition. The Party of Democratic Transformation has not changed its attitude.

The session of the Constitutional Commission has been interrupted and consultations are under way in deputies' clubs.

It is difficult to say at this point whether the deputies will discuss the law on a referendum at all today or whether they will not do this until 27 November when a new session of the Assembly of Slovenia is planned.

Assembly Debate Planned for 5 Dec

AU2611195590 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] The Assembly of Slovenia will not discuss the proposed law on a referendum tomorrow. The whole procedure has been postponed until 5 December. Dragoslav Kosaric has a report on the reasons for this decision:

[Begin Kosaric recording] On the initiative of the republican leaders, Kucan, Bucar, and Peterle, a session was held last night in the strictest secrecy. It was attended by all leaders of the parties which have a representative in the Slovene parliament. It is obvious from today's meager statement that consensus exists on only one question—that the referendum should be carried out—but all other questions are obviously in dispute, even the already agreed proposed text for the referendum voting slips.

It is difficult to say at this time to what extent Saturday's [24 November] statement by Petar Gracanin, federal minister for internal affairs, prompted this secret session to be held.

We have unofficially learned that by the end of this month, the republican Executive Council will present all relevant indicators concerning the situation before and after the referendum. The dilemma is whether one should immediately seek separation from Yugoslavia or not. Apart from uncertainty over the way to recognize the legitimacy of the results, we have learned that the dilemma has again been raised over whether all those Slovenes who voted in the spring elections would have the right to vote.

Instead of the constitutional commission, party leaders met again today behind closed doors. No statement has been issued, even though the meeting has ended, which is

a reliable sign that no agreement has been reached. Fear of the result of the referendum is obvious: Slovenes had a negative experience in 1920 when the Carinthian Slovenes voted to remain in Austria and not to join the motherland, which was the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes at that time.

Much of this will become clearer by 5 December but [word indistinct] everyone realizes that the wrong move could have unforeseeable consequences. The coming days will show which side time is on, which is something that should not be forgotten at fateful moments. [end recording]

Slovenia's Kucan Sees Federation's Disintegration

AU2711091190 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 26 Nov 90 pp 182-186

[Unattributed interview with Slovene President Milan Kucan; place and date not given: "Our Suitcases Are Packed"]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Mr. President, can elections in the Yugoslav republics put an end to political anarchy in the country?

[Kucan] At least, new partners for talks will be legitimized because they are democratically elected and are thus entitled to negotiate on behalf of their peoples and republics. Such a discussion has not existed at all so far.

[DER SPIEGEL] Nearly all parties participating in the election campaign advocate nationalist programs. Does this not increase the danger of a civil war?

[Kucan] If the irrational atmosphere, in which our republics are trying to develop as sovereign national states, continues to prevail, a civil war cannot be ruled out. However, most of the politicians are also aware that, for the time being, such hostilities would mean an end to our path toward Europe.

[DER SPIEGEL] The other republics fear that Serbia might trigger such a conflict.

[Kucan] Fuel will certainly be added to the fire where several ethnic groups live in one region, in one republic, that is, in Kosovo, in Knin in Croatia, and in Bosnia. Unfortunately, the policy in Serbia shows that Serbia is not primarily interested in an agreement on the joint fate but in a position that would allow the republic to force its economic and political interests on other republics in Yugoslavia.

[DER SPIEGEL] There are fears that the Albanians might rise again in Kosovo. Could Slovenia help the Albanians in the event of a war, as it has been requested to do?

[Kucan] We have no intention of engaging in armed conflicts. For this reason, we have also withdrawn the Slovene police from the federal police units in Kosovo.

[DER SPIEGEL] What will happen if shots are fired?

[Kucan] In the event of a war, we would see ourselves forced to secede from Yugoslavia as quickly as possible. After all, we have to safeguard the interests of the Slovene people and state. By the way, our policy will not trigger a civil war.

[DER SPIEGEL] The Army insists on the right of intervention if the state of Yugoslavia should be questioned through the secession of a republic.

[Kucan] I do not see it this way. The decisive factor is whether vital interests of other peoples are endangered through the secession of a republic. This is not the case if Slovenia secedes.

[DER SPIEGEL] Slovenia and Croatia have meanwhile established their own regional units. The republics are quarreling with the federal Army over the weapons depots of the territorial defense.

[Kucan] The Army must realize that it is no longer the Army of the League of Communists or Tito's Army. However, instead of adapting to the democratic processes, the Army is trying to play the key role of the political referee.

[DER SPIEGEL] Serbia also seems to hope for an intervention by the Army.

[Kucan] The Yugoslav Peoples' Army is the joint Army of all Yugoslav peoples. If it stages a coup against one of these peoples, it violates the Constitution. In such case it would be used in the interest of one people against other peoples. Such a misuse would lead to Slovenia's final break with the Army.

[DER SPIEGEL] What could you actually do?

[Kucan] In such case, Slovenia would see itself forced—as a last resort—to call on other states and international organizations for help.

[DER SPIEGEL] The United States and Western Europe show declining inclination of interfering in the Yugoslav conflict. So far they have clearly supported a federative and uniform Yugoslavia.

[Kucan] You are right. The situation has changed with the fall of the Berlin Wall. With our ambitions, we are a factor that disturbs the European integration process. Europe is afraid of the seemingly uncontrollable events in Yugoslavia. They believe that the disintegration of our federation or the secession of individual republics is only possible under the conditions of a civil war. Europe does not want a hotbed of conflict, like the Middle East, at its Balkan threshold.

[DER SPIEGEL] So, what can you do if Europe wants to integrate Yugoslavia only as a single entity?

[Kucan] I do not believe that anyone in the West can assume the responsibility for forcing us to remain within

the Yugoslav federation in which our existence is endangered. This would be against the democratic principles of the West. However, we naturally understand the warnings that, in implementing our goals, we must also show responsibility toward the other Yugoslav peoples and the international community. Still, we will make our own decision on what we will do. In connection with this decision, we will also hold a referendum on Slovenia's future position.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you think that an individual republic could survive as an independent state? You said that Slovenia would need financial aid worth $1 billion from abroad in the first six months after its secession.

[Kucan] For this reason, our goal is the fastest possible integration into the European system, in order to catch up with the Western civilization and its economic system.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are you thinking of escaping from the bankrupt Yugoslav state to a well-off Europe?

[Kucan] We fulfilled the demands of the EC and the Council of Europe as early as one year ago, when such demands were still criticized as inadmissible interference in internal affairs in the rest of Yugoslavia. In Serbia, foreign warnings against human rights violations in Kosovo are still being rejected today. Only if we ensure our sovereignty can we continue the democratic process in Slovenia and try to intensify it in other parts of Yugoslavia. This will be much easier after the elections.

[DER SPIEGEL] You belonged to the communist leadership under Tito. At the time you stated that fraternity and unity prevail in Yugoslavia. Was that not the truth?

[Kucan] Yugoslavia was formed during the war and was a defense community. It was a necessity during the time of the witch-hunt by the Cominform Office and during the Cold War. These integration factors no longer exist today. In Europe, the idea of collective defense is taking shape, and in Yugoslavia national and economic issues are in the foreground.

[DER SPIEGEL] Is this a reason for switching from one extreme position to another?

[Kucan] We did not succeed in finding new integration factors at the right time, which could replace the old ones. As a matter of fact, we dissipated our energies in an ideological struggle. Our peoples are no longer willing to subordinate their interests to the national interests of the Yugoslav state.

[DER SPIEGEL] All republics must soon make a decision about the future state form. Slovenia and Croatia insist on a confederation, and Serbia on a federation. Can there be a compromise?

[Kucan] No. A decision must be made between the two models. The draft for a federation presented by the president of the Yugoslav Presidency, Jovic, only stipulates Serbia's old hegemony of interests as the republic that has the largest number of inhabitants. The draft is of a unitaristic nature and cannot be implemented in a state consisting of several peoples. It would even abolish the rules of equal opportunity stipulated in the Constitution.

[DER SPIEGEL] Your confederation model is based on a sixfold increase of the existing state apparatus. This would mean six defense ministers and six foreign ministers. Is such a form of administration not a superfluous luxury and outdated?

[Kucan] No, not at all. The EC also has 12 foreign ministers. This concept is not considered ridiculous. In addition, the EC states have more common interests—not only economic but also political interests—than the individual Yugoslav republics.

[DER SPIEGEL] What function would Yugoslavia have then?

[Kucan] It would be the name of the community of Yugoslav peoples, similar to the EC. By the way, the Soviet Union is facing the same problem. Individual states are concluding treaties with each other there as well. There are widely differing views as to what the collective community is representing at this point.

[DER SPIEGEL] So far the Slovene and Croatian plans have met with little support in the other republics.

[Kucan] This has already changed. At the session of the federal parliament, a reversal of the tendency became visible. I am sure that this tendency will strengthen in our favor after the elections and the appointment of the new governments.

[DER SPIEGEL] Still, your confederation model seems to be a attempt by the two republics with the more advanced economies to get rid of the underdeveloped part of the state.

[Kucan] According to our model, lose and close links can be established between the individual republics, in keeping with their interests. It will not only depend on our wishes whether this can be realized, but also on the interests and possibilities of the other republics. The ratio concerning the standard of development between Kosovo and Slovenia stands at 1:1.75.

[DER SPIEGEL] In view of this gap, you are still hoping for a consensus on economic decisions?

[Kucan] We trust in the logic of the market and the autonomy of the eocnomy, without political interference.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are you hoping for better understanding with Serbia after the 9 December elections?

[Kucan] This is a difficult question. The old hotbeds of conflict will continue to exist, including the most difficult problem in Yugoslavia—the future of Kosovo. Most of the differences among us stem from this policy.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you consider the problem insolvable?

[Kucan] It is insoluable the way Serbia has been trying to solve it for the past 20 years, through the use of violence and the imposition of the state of emergency.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you have a better proposal?

[Kucan] We often presented a better proposal in the past few years, but nobody would listen to us: The conflicting parties must talk with each other. In politics, those who refuse to talk lose most. Today it might be too late.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you think that the majority of Albanians in Kosovo wants to join Albania?

[Kucan] The worse prospects are for Albanians in Kosovo, the more they want to join Albania. The East Germans also had their own state, but the overwhelming majority still wanted to join the FRG. In Kosovo, a similar development might take place.

[DER SPIEGEL] Who is to blame for this?

[Kucan] Kosovo was lost through the rigorous policy of the present-day Serbian leadership. All its predecessors had a real chance of integrating Kosovo into Yugoslavia on the basis of a diplomatic policy.

[DER SPIEGEL] Serbian President Milosevic might be replaced by the opposition after elections.

[Kucan] We have no illusions in this respect. As far as Kosovo is concerned, all Serbian parties pursue the same policy. The prospects are slim that reason and compromise will prevail one day. For this reason, we are afraid of a civil war. And therefore, our suitcases are packed. They are standing outside the door.

Wide Party Support for Slovene Plebisicite Noted

LD2611155790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0956 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 26 Nov (TANJUG)—The chairman of political parties, clubs and parliamentary groups in Slovenia, are, without exception, supporting the initiative to hold a plebiscite on an independent and sovereign Slovenia. This was stressed at their meeting held last night at the suggestion of the presidents of the Presidency, the Assembly, and of the Slovene Government—Milan Kucan, Dr. France Bucar, and Lojze Peterle. [passage omitted]

VJESNIK Questions Slovene 'Rush To Secede'

AU2711161590 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 14 Nov 90 p 1

[Branko Podgornik commentary: "Why the Rush To Secede?"]

[Text] Secession has been openly considered in Slovenia since the spring elections. However, the view has hitherto always prevailed that one should first of all see whether Yugoslavia will restructure itself according to the confederal concept and then use secession as an emergency escape. What has unexpectedly happened for the Demos [United Opposition] leaderships to suddenly throw the confederal concept, which they had been working on together with Croatia, down the Sava river and announce the organization of a referendum on Slovenia's independence, which actually means secession?

It should first of all be said that both the ruling Demos coalition and the Slovene opposition are agreed that an independent Slovene state should be created and they have assessed that the present time provides the best historical opportunity for it. The Demos leadership does not even conceal the fact that it would use the referendum to attempt to influence the international public to more quickly recognize a Slovene state. Internal Yugoslav circumstances, whereby some "wartime hatchets" have been temporarily buried because of elections in four republics, seem to be to the advantage of Slovene secession. It should not be forgotten that even since July of this year, the concept of a Greater Serbian state has either covertly or overtly pushed Slovenia outside Yugoslavia, so that it turned Slovenes from opponents into allies when it came to the realization of greater Serbian interests in the other Yugoslav state-republics.

However, Slovenia's lightening secession would put Slovenia itself into a crisis and even chaotic situation. We are not saying this because we know what is good for the Slovenes better than they themselves, but because this chaotic situation was even envisaged by the program of Demos itself which was recently presented in seven points by the Demos strategist, Dr. Peter Jambrek. The program was thus demanding the immediate "mobilization of all Slovene intellectuals, economic, and political energies" for the realization of the independence of the Slovene state, a "transitional government of national unity," and the formation of "crisis centers" for national security and the social and economic survival of the state. In brief, the program envisages the introduction of something that smells like a state of emergency in Slovenia, which is something that no one from outside seems to have been forcing on the Slovene leadership.

There are however domestic Slovene reasons for the haste to succeed. Demos seems to have welcomed this referendum since it could restore its lost voters and also strengthen its own ranks because some people have for a long time been announcing the possible collapse of the ruling coalition. Neither is it accidental that Dr. Peter

Jambrek in his "timetable" for creating a Slovene independent state does not envisage elections until the spring of 1992. The opposition, however, has for a longer time been demanding that the new Slovene constitution be adopted soon and then new elections held immediately afterwards.

In the end, the question remains: "Is a referendum on secession really necessary for the creation of an independent state? Dr. Danilo Turk, expert in international law at the Ljubljana Law Faculty, says that: "The way the people exercise their right to self-determination is not regulated anywhere in international law," even though a referendum can be used. Moreover, the fact is that one state does not become a sovereign state when it proclaims itself to be one or when it secedes, but when it constructs all the institutions necessary for sovereignty, when it actually exercises sovereign authority on its territory, and when this is actually recognized on the international scene. It seems that the best way to proceed in the seething Yugoslav circumstances is through patience, talks, and consideration of reality. This is all the more so because no one, either at home or abroad, will be able any longer to stop or challenge the creation of new independent states on the territory of Yugoslavia.

Demos Initiative Envisages 7 Steps to Secession

AU2711121990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Nov 90 p 4

[S. Sicarov report: "Strategy in Seven Points"]

[Excerpt] Ljubljana—The surprise decision by the Demos [United Opposition] deputies' club to submit a request to the republican Assembly and all parties for a referendum to be scheduled at the end of the year has provoked diverse comment among the Slovene public, mainly because the meeting at the seminar in the republican Center for Defense Training in Poljce, at which this decision was made, was closed to the public.

Despite this, yesterday's DELO reported some details of this secret meeting. The seminar was attended by somewhat more than half the DEMOS deputies and several government ministers, but not Prime Minister Peterle. DELO has learned that Demos deputies were in favor of the government being strengthened as regards policy and personnel because it has to deal with future tasks.

The strategy of Slovenia's secession was proposed by Peter Jambrek, Tone Jerovsek, and Tine Hribar, all of whom are from the Slovene Democratic Alliance, and Peter Jambrek put forward the specific strategy of setting up an independent and sovereign Slovene state in seven points. According to him, the strategy was hatched in the last few days in the political leadership of Slovenia and would have to have the endorsement of all Slovene parties. He proposed that a government of national unity be formed.

Referendum in December

The main points of this strategy are that the national ballot (referendum) take place on 23 December or 30 December at the latest, and that the citizens of Slovenia be asked only one question: "Does Slovenia become an independent and sovereign state which is not associated in SFRY on the day of this referendum?" The referendum would be monitored by foreign observers.

Then, immediate negotiations are envisaged with the Yugoslav authorities and the Yugoslav republics on the independence of Slovenia, the independence of the National Bank of Slovenia, the determination of the new state's currency, the setting up of an independent diplomatic and consular service, the reformation of Slovenia's territorial defense into a republican army and the dissolution of the present composition of the Yugoslav People's Army on Slovene territory, and the setting up of institutions like institutes for standardization, for measures and valuable materials, and for patents, a flight control administration, and a customs service for Slovenia.

Then, a new constitution would be adopted by February or March next year and effective and real Slovene authority would be established on Slovene territory six months after its promulgation at the latest. This would be followed by a process of coordinating a legal structure and state organization and action for the recognition of the international position of the new state of Slovenia. New elections for a state council and head of state would follow in the spring of 1992. [passage omitted]

Slovenia Releases Defense Budget Information

LD2411133190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1018 GMT 24 Nov 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 24 Nov (TANJUG)—Slovenia this year allocated $850 million for the requirements of the Yugoslav National Army together with debts from last year and Army disability pensions. The Republic spent one-tenth of these funds on its own needs in the area of defense.

This information was provided by Jelko Kacin, Slovene deputy republican secretary for national defense, at the last session of the Assembly Defense Commission.

Kacin also stressed that future defense needs in Slovenia would be financed in line with economic possibilities. It is also envisaged that in the next three months the number of cadres in this area will be reduced by one-fourth.

Slovenia, Croatia Plan To Sign Confederal Treaty

AU2611143690 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Nov 90 p 10

[Unattributed report: "A Slovene-Croatian Confederation on 7 December?"]

[Text] This year marks the 125th anniversary of the confederal meeting between Slovenia and Croatia held in Petrinja—this was stated by Slaven Letica [Franjo

Tudjman's adviser]. Therefore, on 7 December this occasion will be marked by the Croatian and Slovene representatives meeting in Celje where they will sign an agreement on a confederation, which will be called the "Celje Agreement." In this document we will say, among other things, that both states recognize each other's borders and property rights, that they will provide mutual assistance, and that they will strive for international recognition.

Croatian Presidency on Slovene Cooperation Talks

LD2611233790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1639 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Zagreb, 26 Nov (TANUG)—At today's session, chaired by President Franjo Tudjman, the Croatian Presidency considered a report on the talks which the Presidency had with the Slovene leadership, as well as a report on the Presidency's stand on the Army and its involvement with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia revival. The Presidency also discussed Croatian foreign relations and the need to set up Croatian missions abroad.

According to a statement issued by the Croatian president's office, the talks with the Slovene leadership confirmed a high degree of similarity of the views of the two republics on the current political and economic situation in Yugoslavia. Croatia and Slovenia will ask the SFRY Presidency to adopt a more resolute stance toward depoliticalization of the Army. Both republics are in principle not against reforms undertaken by the federal government, but are opposed to the accompanying process of centralization and the proposed increased federal budget, whose structure, level and sources are unacceptable.

They will especially demand a reduction in military and diplomatic missions expenditures, which are taking up 60 percent of the federal budget. Centralization of funds for social welfare programs and funds for financial recovery of banks is unacceptable. The current exchange rate of the dinar is bringing the exporting and other branches of the economies of the two republics to the brink of collapse.

The statement goes on to say that the leadership of the two republics discussed the possibility of countermeasures against Serbia's economic boycott if Serbia fails to end it. The suggestion was made to hold a meeting as soon as possible with the federal government president and a number of his ministers.

The Presidency of the Republic of Croatia will insist that the SFRY Presidency, in its capacity as supreme commander of the Yugoslav armed forces, assume an unambiguous attitude to the issue of depoliticalization of the Army in respect of its earlier agreements with the leaderships of the republics. This refers in particular to the resurrection of the communist party, which is heavily relying on the ideological, material and cadre resources of the Yugoslav People's Army; to statements by retired Army officers made on behalf of the Army; and to other topical examples of the Army's politicalization.

The Croat Presidency also concluded that in light of Croatia's growing international recognition and influence, it is necessary to speed up the implementation of an earlier decision to set up bureaus of the Republic of Croatia abroad.

Police Patrol Attacked in Knin Region; 1 Killed

LD2311230190 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Nov 90

[Text] Here is a report about last night's incident and a clash between a police patrol and masked attackers.

According to a statement issued by the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs, last night around 0200 at the Obrovac-Benkovac-Zegar road junction, a Benkovac police patrol was attacked during routine traffic control. While the patrol was carrying out its regular traffic-related tasks, three as yet unidentified persons approached a police vehicle from the front and immediately opened fire with automatic weapons at the policemen. A police inspector, Stevan Bukarica, and a policeman, Goran Alabanja, sustained injuries in this terrorist act. After they were transported to the Zadar Medical Center, Goran Alabanja died. The third member of the patrol, Jovo Graovac, is unhurt.

The brutality of this attack is best illustrated by the fact that the masked gunmen pulled the seriously injured policement out of the police vehicle, took their weapons and drove off in the car.

Workers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs found the deserted police vehicle. Appropriate measures are still being taken, the statement of the Croatian Ministry for Internal Affairs concludes.

Assembly Fails To Resolve Constitutional Crisis

AU2311153890 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Nov 90 p 1

[J. Radovanovic, V. Simonovic, J. Kesic, and V. Vignjevic report: "Same Target, Same Distance"]

[Excerpt] Belgrade—The discussion about the current political and security situation and the activities of the SFRY Presidency aimed at finding a way out of the constitutional crisis held in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces yesterday [14 November], did not produce anything new. First of all, the delegates from all republics and provinces came to the rostrum one after another and repeated the stands of their communities that have already been presented on so many occasions before. Thus, Serbia still supports the program of the federal Presidency and its model of a federation. Slovenia and Croatia are against such solutions. The Croatian Assembly once again offered its Declaration, which would regulate the principles of reaching an agreement on the future setup of Yugoslavia. Macedonia

offered "something in between" a federation and a confederation, warning that the elections could alter the political map of Macedonia. Bosnia-Hercegovina has a similar view to that held by Macedonia. It again offered a Charter of the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Finally, Montenegro has a similar stand to that of Serbia, but also warned that the way out of the constitutional crisis requires more time, primarily because of multi-party elections which are due to be held in some republics. [passage omitted]

Markovic Attends Chamber's State of Union Session

LD2711110890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0957 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Nov (TANJUG)—In the Yugoslav Assembly, delegates of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces began a debate on the current social and political situation in the country and economic policy measures for next year.

The debate is based on the speech made on this in the Yugoslav Assembly in the middle of November by Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic.

The Chamber of Republics and Provinces will today also consider FEC information on the implementation of measures to mitigate the consequences of the crisis in the Persian Gulf on the Yugoslav economy.

FEC President Ante Markovic is also attending the chamber's session.

Libyan Embassy on Request for UN Gulf Session

LD2611154890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1500 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Nov (TANJUG)—Libyan Embassy in Belgrade informed TANJUG on Monday [26 November] it has requested of the U.N. secretary-general and the U.N. Security Council president to convene a special session of the council as soon as possible in Geneva with a view to solving the gulf crisis by peaceful means.

Libyan People's Bureau in Belgrade announced that Libya asked that the session also be attended by all the Arab countries interested.

The aim, as [words indistinct] out, was "to [word indistinct] world peace and avoid war", since, in Libya's view, the next regular session of the Security Council could approve the use of force in solving the crisis. The Libyan initiative envisages holding the Geneva meeting prior to the Security Council session to avoid a war conflict.

The announcement of the Libyan People's Bureau in Belgrade also invited Yugoslav and foreign journalists to a press conference, which Libyan leader Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi is to hold in Tripoli within the next 48 hours.

Markovic Returns From Visit to Sweden

Mutual Satisfaction Expressed

LD2311214790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1555 GMT 23 Nov 90

[Text] Zagreb, 23 Nov (TANJUG)—Ante Markovic, Federal Executive Council president, returned from his two-day official visit to Sweden today. In a statement for the media given at the Zagreb Airport, Ante Markovic stressed that in the course of the talks held in Sweden, both sides voiced their satisfaction with the processes of change in the world.

One of the results of these processes is the CSCE Paris meeting, which opened a new phase of the integration process in Europe. According to Ante Markovic, the Swedish Government wants to see that Yugoslavia as a whole, through the embarked upon process of democratization and reform, becomes a part of Europe.

Comments on Foreign Currency Outflow

LD2311220290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1827 GMT 23 Nov 90

[Text] Zagreb, 23 Nov (TANJUG)—The decision by the Federal Executive Council [FEC] on the export of foreign currency from Yugoslavia is nothing new. This is merely a matter of harmonization with the usual regulations that exist in all countries with convertible currencies where there are no restrictions on the export of foreign currency, except in cash.

This was stressed by FEC President Ante Markovic in Zagreb today following his return from Sweden, replying to questions from journalists. Markovic provided the information that in the last two months an outflow of capital from the country of over $1 million has come about. This is a matter of purchasing and exporting foreign currency, and there are also, Markovic says, "smugglers" of foreign currency in Eastern European countries.

The FEC decision was interpreted by Markovic as, in fact, a way to enable citizens to purchase foreign currency without having to wait in banks.